APRIL, 1936

THE COMMUNIST

Review of the Month — A. B.

Ernst Thaelmann, Proletarian Leader

The National Negro Congress — JAMES W. FORD

Unity on the Unemployment Field — HERBERT BENJAMIN

Roy Howard's Interview with Joseph Stalin

The Peace Policy of the Soviet Union — L.

Unity for Victory and Its Conditions in France

Book Reviews

AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR IN BRAZIL
By Harrison George

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Is Communism?

By EARL BROWDER

The best popular explanation of Communism available. It presents the Communist Party, its theory and tactics, its aims and its methods, as only the outstanding leader of the Party in this country can present them. Simply written, with clarity and convincing argument as the keynote to its style, *What Is Communism?* is a powerful broom, sweeping out the misconceptions and prejudices about the Party fostered by the bourgeoisie among the working class and the middle strata of the population.

254 pages—50 cents
Cloth bound—$2.50

●

Order from your nearest bookshop or from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE
COMMUNIST
A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vol. XV. APRIL, 1936 No. 4

CONTENTS

REVIEW OF THE MONTH ... 291

ERNST THAELMANN, PROLETARIAN LEADER ... 311

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS ... 316
By JAMES W. FORD

UNITY ON THE UNEMPLOYMENT FIELD ... 327
By HERBERT BENJAMIN

ROY HOWARD'S INTERVIEW WITH JOSEPH STALIN ... 337

CLOSE RANKS! FORWARD! ... 346
By HARRISON GEORGE

HE PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION ... 353
By L.

ITY FOR VICTORY AND ITS CONDITIONS ... 359

OK REVIEWS ... 376

A Scientific Survey of American Imperialism. *By* HARRY GANNES
"Heroes" of Our Industrial America ..... *By* ANTHONY BIMBA

d as second class matter November 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Make all checks, money orders, rrespondence to THE COMMUNIST, P.O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 E. 13th lew York. Subscription rates $2 a year; $1 for six months; foreign nada $2.50 a year. Single copies 20c.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Die Rote Fahne

Arb.-Arbeiter! Stimmt für Streik!

Thälmann in Paris

Ueberraschendes Auftreten des Führers der KPD. in einem Massenmeeting der Pariser Arbeiterschaft – Kampfrede gegen die Kriegsrüstungen in Deutschland und Frankreich und gegen das räuberische Versailler System – Vernichtende Abrechnung mit Chauvinismus, Militarismus, Faschismus – Begeisterung der französischen Arbeiter

Die Arbeiterklasse Deutschlands und Frankreichs marschiert in brüderlicher Kampfgemeinschaft – Heraus am 6. November für die Liste 3

Im Zeichen des proletarischen Internationalismus!

Ernst Thälmanns Kampfruf:

Krieg dem imperialistischen Kriege!

Nieder mit Versailles!

Heute abend spricht Ernst Thälmann im Sportpalast!

On the occasion of Comrade Ernst Thaelmann's fiftieth birtl we are here reproducing a facsimile of the front page o November 1, 1932 issue of Die Rote Fahne *featuring the of the giant rally of French workers which Comrade Thae addressed in Paris the day previous.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Review of the Month

Stalin Points Out War Danger Zones—Hitler Fascism Takes a Next Step to War—The Independent Action of the Masses for Peace—Roosevelt, "Neutrality" and the Merchants of Death—Two Developments in the Farmer-Labor Party—Labor Party in "Principle" and in Deed—National or Local Parties?—There's More Than One Way of Becoming Tail End of Roosevelt—Socialist Call Treads Dangerous Ground—Recent Political Trends and the National Institute of Public Opinion—Reactionaries Try To Split Unity of Minnesota F.L.P.—Roosevelt's Taxation Policies—Corporations "Save" for the Workers—What Is Adequate Relief for the Unemployed?—The Mayors' Conference and Roosevelt's Budget—Pass the Marcantonio Relief Bill!—Green Discovers Excess Capacity—Communist Party Demands Opening of Factories—Organize Mass Actions of Unemployed!—Greetings to the Unification Congress of the Unemployed—Lessons of the Building Service Strike—Consolidation of Railroads and Amalgamation of R.R. Unions—Roper Discovers Mutiny—Coughlin Answers Browder—Soviet Democracy—The Webbs Find a Dream Realized—For a United Front May Day!

IN REPLY to Howard's question, where war is most likely to break out, Stalin said:

> "In my opinion there are two focal points of the war danger. The first focal point is the Far East zone of Japan. . . . The second focal point in the zone is Germany. It is difficult to say which is more menacing. But both of them exist and both are smoldering."

As if to prove that the German zone is more menacing than the Japanese, Hitler fascism tore up the Locarno Treaty and moved troops into the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland.

Actually, of course, Hitler was not concerned with proving any such point. He just seized upon a situation that seemed to him favorable in order to make *a next step* for the realization of the war plans of German fascism. In doing so, Hitler is "merely" fulfilling

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the mission entrusted to him by German imperialism, by the most chauvinistic and aggressive circles of German finance capital. It is to prepare and carry through a new world war for the redivision of the world in favor of German capitalism—"to settle accounts" with France, to gobble up and destroy the national independence of the small European countries and, above all, to attack and dismember the Soviet Union.

It is a new world war that Hitler is preparing, a war to enslave and exploit other peoples. His cry for German "equality" is only a fascist euphemism for the burning desire of German finance capital to seize new lands for imperialist plunder. He offers peace and non-aggression pacts to Germany's neighbors in the West, but moves troops against them, while he cannot even conceal his war plans against the Soviet Union.

Fascism means war; and German fascism is on the war-path.

It is said that Hitler will not be ready for war until 1938. That may be so; but it is not the whole story. Military experts predict that, by the end of this year, German fascism will have three million troops in active service and four million in reserve. Germany's air force is already one of the strongest in Europe and its capacity for rapid expansion is great. By tearing up the Locarno Treaty and militarizing the Rhineland, Hitler has given himself a jumping board for a rapid invasion of France through Belgium or Holland. If, in addition to this, we consider the steadily mounting internal difficulties (economic and political) of German fascism and the general instability of the international situation, the Hitler adventurers may precipitate a world war almost at any time.

Nor must we overlook the Japanese danger zone in the Far East. Koki Hirota became premier of the new Japanese cabinet; General Araki and several more fire-eating militarists have resiged from the Supreme Military Council. That, of course, means something from the point of view of the inner relation of forces between the "moderates" and the "extremists". But the truth is that there is very little difference between them. More important is the fact that the source of power of Araki & Co.—the middle officer corps in the army—has been left intact, which means the continuing dependence of the "moderates" upon the "extremists".

That this is so can already be seen from the following facts: while Hirota was fixing up his new cabinet, the Japanese army went ahead and occupied Pailingmiao in Inner Mongolia, coming considerably closer to the Soviet Union's Siberian border; Japan's ambassador in China is pressing even more urgently than before for China's "acceptance" of Hirota's "three points" (complete subordination of China to Japan, joint war against the Soviet Union, and joint war

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the Chinese Soviets), while the Japanese-Manchukuoan outposts have renewed the border raids.

It is possible, of course, that Stalin's weighty and solemn declaration that the Soviet Union will assist the Mongolian People's Republic in the defence of its national independence and integrity will tend to cool off somewhat the ardor of the Japanese militarists. The news that Japan has accepted the offer to set up a mixed commission to investigate the border conflicts would seem to point in that direction. The situation, however, remains full of danger since the Japanese fascist-militarist clique is determined upon war and is still powerful enough internally to precipitate it.

The smoldering fascist war danger zones in Japan and Germany may therefore break out into actual war at any time, despite the fact that neither of these war incendiaries is yet fully ready for it. And Mussolini's war in Ethiopia continues to aggravate the situation.

For the moment the situation is dominated by Hitler's latest war threat and by the efforts of the peace forces of the world to meet this aggressive challenge in an effective way. The Soviet Union, in accord with its proletarian and consistent policy of peace, urges the other powers that are committed to the maintenance of peace, especially France and England, to take such collective measures as will make it impossible for Hitler to begin war. The Soviet Union is, of course, not advocating any so-called "preventive" war against Germany, as Hitler's press is trying to represent it. The Soviet Union has maintained right along that the united struggles of the masses of all countries for peace, plus the collective, economic and political action of the League of Nations against aggressors, would constitute a power of such overwhelming strength that no war-maker would dare challenge it. This is what the Soviet Union is advocating now.

It is necessary to recall, now that Hitler is trying to use the injustice of Versailles and Locarno to justify his war moves, that the Soviet government was the only one consistently opposing the Versailles Treaty—until Hitler fascism came to power, that the Soviet government had no responsibility for the Locarno Treaty. In fact, the latter had a definite anti-Soviet edge at the time of its conclusion. Hence, the fascists will not succeed in misrepresenting the Soviet Union as a defender of Versailles or Locarno, or of the robber Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, for that matter.

The main concern of the Soviet Union, and of all genuine fighters for peace, is: Who denounced the Locarno Treaty, and for what purposes? To which the answer is obvious: the Locarno Treaty was denounced by a gang of fascist adventurers that is seeking war, as a step in the preparation of a war to enslave and exploit other peoples. The Soviet Union urges action against the fascist aggressors

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in order to prevent war, in order to maintain peace. The toiling masses of all countries are, therefore, vitally interested in supporting actively these peace policies of the Soviet Union.

* * *

VIEWING the present situation from the narrow angle of what capitalist governments are likely or unlikely to do, some sincere adherents of peace tend to become pessimistic as to the possibility of maintaining peace altogether. Such pessimism is fed by a belief that no government in the League of Nations, outside of the Soviet Union, is willing or able to join sincerely in collective action against an aggressor. This belief derives primarily from the uncertain attitude of the British and French governments whose conflicting policies prevent collective action and thus encourage aggression. On this basis a conclusion is reached that the League can do nothing, that nobody else can do much, and that hence war is inevitable. In the United States this is coupled with the hope and wish that the only thing for us to do is—to stay out.

These pessimistic moods make their way especially among those who once placed great hopes upon the League of Nations and upon the consistency of the peace policies of such capitalist governments as the French, British, or American. The failure of these governments to live up to such expectations (unwarranted expectations), naturally results in disillusionment and disappointment. We Communists, however, never indulged in such expectations. We know that capitalism breeds war, "capitalism in its imperialistic, annexationist manifestations" (Stalin). In the Howard interview with Stalin, we read:

> "You remember how the first world war broke out. It broke out as a result of the desire to redivide the world. Today the background is the same. There are capitalist states which consider themselves cheated, during previous redivisions of spheres of influence, territories, sources of raw materials, markets, etc., and which would again desire to redivide them to their own advantage. Capitalism in its imperialistic stage is a system which regards war as a legitimate method for the solution of international disputes—a method which is legitimate in fact, if not legally so."

To abolish war, therefore, means to abolish capitalism.

This does not mean that, in the present world situation, it is impossible to fight successfully to prevent the outbreak of war, to postpone it, and even to forestall it by successful socialist revolutions in some of the more important capitalist countries. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International has shown that this is possible. Only for that it is necessary to place the chief depen-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dence upon the struggle of the toiling masses for peace and against capitalist reaction. It is necessary to rally the peace forces of the world around the Soviet Union and its peace policies. With this as a basis, it is necessary to utilize the imperialist contradictions that work for war in order to strengthen the fight against it.

From this point of view there are very favorable factors in recent developments, although there is all the cause in the world for arousing the masses to a united struggle for peace. Of course, the French capitalist government is not carrying on a consistent policy of peace. No imperialist government is—even though it is interested in the status quo. But the French working class with its allies, by supporting the peace policies of the Soviet Union, is building up in France an impregnable force for peace. The united front between the Communist and Socialist Parties is the motive power in this movement. The English ruling class is divided. Some sections of the Conservatives still hope for agreement with German fascism at the expense of the Soviet Union, thus encouraging Hitler to proceed with his war plans, which will not escape England. But the English working class, despite some of its reformist leaders, and large groups of the poorer middle classes, is beginning to appreciate more and more the need of waging an independent struggle for peace, against the Baldwin government and in support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union. Thus, in England also, though at a slower tempo as yet, chiefly because of the opposition of the reactionaries in the Labor Party to the united front, a mass power is growing that will fight for and defend peace. Such mass movements are growing all over the capitalist world—also in the United States.

Another force for peace of great importance are the small nations of Europe that are threatened by Hitler. It is a fact that these nations are looking upon the Soviet Union as the chief power that fights for peace and helps to preserve their national independence and integrity.

It is for these and similar reasons that Stalin was able to tell Howard that, on the one hand, "war may break out unexpectedly" and, on the other:

> "I believe that the position of the friends of peace is strengthening. The friends of peace are able to work in the open. They base themselves upon the force of public opinion. They have at their disposal such instruments as, for instance, the League of Nations."

Above all:

> "Their strength lies in the fact that their activities against war are based on the wide masses of the people."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To organize these masses and to lead them in an organized daily struggle for peace—this is our job. To mobilize the masses, who desire peace, and to rally them around the peace policies of the Soviet Union—this is the central task of the moment.

* * *

AS HE was signing the new Neutrality Act recently passed by Congress, President Roosevelt made a fresh "appeal" to business to abstain from increasing exports to belligerents for the sake of larger profits. It is safe to say that this appeal will have as much effect as the previous ones. We have already commented on the fact that, in the first eleven months of 1935, exports of American oil to Italian Africa increased from $4,587 to $672,155. Another item of importance to the war-makers is scrap iron. In 1935, American exports of scrap amounted to 2,107,814 tons as compared with an average of only 438,302 tons from 1919 through 1935. Most of the scrap went to Italy and Japan.

It is clear from these figures that business men are doing business regardless of the appeals of the President. But that in no way relieves him of responsibility. It was in his power, and in the power of his party, which controls both Houses of Congress, to prohibit by law export of essential war materials and to enforce that law. Such proposals were before Congress when it handled the Neutrality Act. But these proposals were not adopted. Why? It is no answer to say that the extreme Republican isolationists in the Senate were standing in the way; Roosevelt's party controls the Senate as well as the House. Still worse is the explanation that the exporters of oil, scrap, cotton, etc., were on the President's neck, objecting to an embargo of these materials to belligerents and aggressors. Of course these elements will object. More than that, the person that expresses their point of view best is Hearst. Hearst therefore advocates a foreign policy that would encourage Hitler, Japan and Mussolini to go on with their war plans and thus expand the foreign market for American business. It certainly is no secret to Roosevelt that sections of big business in this country hope and wish for a war, especially against the Soviet Union, expecting additionally to do "good business" as a result of it. The idea of "solving" the depression and crisis in the United States by means of such a war is by no means dead among certain circles of American finance capital. The isolation and "neutrality" campaigns of the Hearsts and Coughlins seek precisely this sort of development.

But Roosevelt is supposed to favor peace! He is supposed to be in favor of preventing war and of keeping this country out of it.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If so, why did he give in to the elements for whom Hearst and Coughlin are speaking? Not that we place much trust in Roosevelt's brand of "neutrality" as an effective policy of peace. This it is not. Even if Roosevelt had stood by his position and had carried it into law, it would have meant the setting up of a very slight impediment to war, and a temporary one. But he did *not* stand by his position. At the first sign of pressure from the merchants of death, he caved in. Let John L. Lewis answer how much dependence the workers of this country can place upon Roosevelt.

In passing, let us also observe the peculiar position of Senator Borah on this question. In his Washington Day speech he had some very harsh things to say about British imperialism. And true things they were. But not a word about American imperialism! He may have been inspired by very noble sentiments, perhaps even by peace sentiments; but the foreign policy which he advocated would just exactly suit all the war-makers and merchants of death in the United States. The kind of "neutrality" which he champions, whether he knows it or not, is the "neutrality" of Woodrow Wilson under the cover of which he dragged this country into the first world imperialist war.

The toiling masses of this country need a policy of peace based upon the same principles as the peace policy of the Soviet Union. For such a policy they must fight. And the best way of promoting this fight is by the masses opposing all imperialistic and militaristic policies of the American government and by exercising their own power in order to stop the shipment of all war materials to Hitler Germany, Japan, and fascist Italy.

In the preparations for the coming May Day this is one of the central issues.

* * *

TWO things stand out prominently in recent developments of the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party: (1) The intensive *organizational* activities in a large number of localities and states either for the direct setting up of local and state Farmer-Labor Parties or in preparation for it; (2) the evident growth of the movement for the setting up of a *national* Farmer-Labor Party. The two are, of course, closely connected, one feeding and strengthening the other.

In the face of these developments, it is somewhat hard to understand the position taken by the Eastern Conference of the "Militant" Socialists—the Call Conference—as expressed in its resolution on the Labor Party. The Conference favored a Labor Party. That is good. But at a time when the Labor Party has become a prac-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tical and immediate question, when mass movements are beginning to grow up around this issue, it is clearly totally insufficient merely to go on record for a Labor Party without providing for practical daily work to bring it about.

To favor a Labor Party "in principle"—and this is what the Call attitude amounts to—means at the present time not to be in favor of a Labor Party. Surely, the Call Conference must have been aware of the fact that John L. Lewis also claims to be in favor of a Labor Party—sometime in the future, not now. But he uses the Labor Party "principle" to obstruct the living Labor Party movement and to support Roosevelt. The Call Conference did not propose to support Roosevelt; but its Labor Party resolution said not a word against the policy of Lewis to blank-check Roosevelt and said a good many words to discourage and even obstruct the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

The Call resolution "sees no prospects for the launching of a genuine Farmer-Labor Party for the 1936 presidential elections". Well, we do see such prospects; and whether they will materialize, to what extent and in what form, will depend a good deal upon the united work of all adherents of a Farmer-Labor Party to bring it about. The real question is: what is the Socialist Party going to do to *increase* these prospects, to turn them into *reality?* If the Call resolution becomes Socialist policy, that party will be trying to *decrease* the prospects and to *obstruct* their realization. Is that what the Left Socialists want? We don't think so.

The Call resolution, in perfect self-satisfaction that it did the right thing, provides for the placing of a Socialist Party presidential ticket in the 1936 elections, assuming that thereby all problems have been solved. But this is not so. The real and immediate problem is: to win away the *masses* from the capitalist parties and to build up a genuine barrier to the capitalist offensive and reaction. Did the Call Conference think that a Socialist Party ticket will serve these purposes? Is it not clear today that failure to build up the Farmer-Labor Party (whether in favor of Roosevelt, as Lewis does, or in favor of an S.P. ticket, as the Call resolution proposes) means helping Roosevelt, helping the Republicans, helping reaction? That is what it means, and no amount of fine words can change this meaning.

The membership of the Socialist Party should clearly understand what is involved. Especially the discouraging and obstructive position taken by the Call resolution with regard to local Labor Parties. The resolution declares that "As a general rule, local Labor Parties without national affiliation are very unstable and can easily become instruments of old party politicians". Assuming that were so, what

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is the conclusion? Build local Labor Parties and simultaneously drive ahead with the struggle for a national party. But this is not the conclusion of the Call resolution. Its conclusion is that "The Socialist Party shall participate in local Farmer-Labor Parties only in exceptional cases". This means throwing a wet blanket upon the work for local parties. It means discouraging and obstructing this work.

And so, what have we as a net result? No national party because (presumably) there are not enough local mass parties; and no local parties because there is no national party. A fine puzzle for logicians and casuists, but hardly a mass policy for truly Left Socialists.

What the Call resolution may mean in practice, we can see from recent experiences in Seattle, Washington. In the last primary elections for city council and mayor, the Communist Party had its own candidate for the council and endorsed the mayoralty candidate of the Commonwealth Federation (a movement essentially of a Farmer-Labor nature). The Socialist Party refused a united front with the Communists and ran candidates *in opposition* to those of the Commonwealth Federation (*Daily Worker*, Feb. 28). What was the result? The Communist candidate for council received 6,694 votes and missed the nomination by only two places. The mayoralty candidate of the Commonwealth Federation, endorsed by the Communist Party, but opposed by the Socialist Party, missed the nomination by only 1,200 votes; while the Socialist Party candidate for mayor received 265 votes, all its candidates to the council receiving one-third of the Communist vote.

On the basis of these facts, would it be an exaggeration to say that a united front of Socialist Party and Communist Party plus a joint endorsement of the mayoralty candidate of the Commonwealth Federation might have resulted in the election of one or more of our joint candidates to the council and of a mayor nominated by the Commonwealth Federation? No, it is no exaggeration. This would almost certainly have been the result. And it would have strengthened the Farmer-Labor movement locally and also nationally. As it was, the Socialist Party helped to defeat the candidate of the Commonwealth Federation and obstructed the development of the Farmer-Labor Party.

Do the "Militant" Socialists wish to repeat Seattle wherever similar situation develop? Yet this will inevitably result from the Call resolution on the Labor Party, if it is taken seriously by the membership of the Socialist Party.

* * *

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY THE time this is off the press, the results of the State Convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party (March 27-28) will already be known. What deserves comment at this time are two points. First, the membership, the basic organizations and a substantial section of the leadership are definitely in favor of launching a national Farmer-Labor Party for 1936. Two of the most important county conventions of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party (Hennepin and St. Louis) have already acted in favor of such a proposal. This will be, no doubt, the central question before the State Convention. Secondly, the last minute desperate effort of the reactionaries to block the adoption of this proposal by utilizing also the vicious tactics of Red-baiting.

The State Central Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party, evidently dominated by the reactionaries, made a "ruling" that Communists cannot be delegates to the State Convention and cannot be members of the organization altogether. This the reactionaries seek to enforce by means of the Constitution which "provides no person advocating political or economic change by means of force or revolution or advocating other than representative form of government shall be admitted to membership". Clearly, this is a desperate move by the corrupt reactionaries to block the proposal for a national Farmer-Labor Party, which has great chances of being adopted by the State Convention and which the Communists have been championing most outstandingly.

It is clear that the "constitutional" question has very little to do with the issue. Communists have been in the organization for a considerable time, doing useful and important work to strengthen the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and to make it function as a party of genuine benefit to the masses. Naturally, the Farmer-Labor Party did become stronger and the influence of the reactionaries (the agents of the capitalists in the Farmer-Labor Party) weaker. It is therefore not a fight between advocates of revolutionary changes and advocates of non-revolutionary changes. No, not at all. It is a fight between the Farmer-Labor Party, as a party of the workers and toiling farmers of Minnesota, and the reactionary betrayers of the Farmer-Labor Party, the covered and uncovered agents of the "Citizens' Alliance". In this fight the Communists, naturally, stand in the front ranks of the membership against the reactionary traitors. Inevitably reaction aims its first blow against the Communists. It is an old trick borrowed from Hearst and other semi-fascists, a trick which the membership will eventually defeat.

Also this should be pointed out. Communists joined the Farmer-Labor Party in pursuance of their policy of the united front. In other words, they joined the organization in order to help create

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unity of action of the toiling masses on the political field to struggle for the immediate betterment of the conditions of the masses, to oppose the capitalists and their parties, to defend the civil rights of the toilers and to combat reaction in all its forms. It is for these purposes, and on such and similar platforms, that Communists joined the Farmer-Labor Party and are working to make it strong. The Communists did not and do not propose for such united fronts the platform of the Socialist revolution for the simple reason that the masses are not yet ready to make the revolution. But they are ready to unite for immediate action in favor of partial and immediate demands. Hence, the Communists join the masses in that. The Communists join the masses and help organize them for all struggles that help the masses against their exploiters. It is therefore dishonest and slanderous to misrepresent the thing as though the Communists joined the Farmer-Labor Party in order to have it make a revolution. No honest and serious-minded person can or will believe any such thing.

It is an entirely different matter to say, as the Communists do, that in joining the united front and the Farmer-Labor Party they do not abandon their revolutionary principles and program; that they reserve the full freedom to propagate their principles and to convince the masses that the revolutionary way is the only way of liberation from capitalism. Furthermore, we are firmly convinced that the experiences of the masses themselves in the daily struggles will convince them of the correctness of our revolutionary principles.

It is clear, therefore, that the attack of the reactionaries upon the Communists in the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is an attack, first, upon the Farmer-Labor Party itself, a move to disrupt the organization and the unity of the masses against their exploiters; and secondly, it is an attack upon the right of revolutionary workers to advocate their revolutionary principles—an attack which is usually the first step in a general war upon the civil rights of all workers and toilers. As such, the masses must be mobilized to combat this vicious move of the reactionaries.

* * *

THE last national poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion (*New York Herald Tribune*, March 15), with all the serious limitations of its methods, throws an interesting light on present-day political currents. It shows, first, that from early February to early March "the President's popularity increased slightly". He received in the poll 54.1 per cent of the major party vote as against 53.9 a month ago. It shows, secondly, that "a considerable proportion

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the President's political support comes from four large groups of voters—persons in the lower economic levels, young persons, farmers, and women. His majority among these groups ranges from 56 per cent among women to 78 per cent among persons on relief." Conversely, the main strength of the Republicans is shown by the poll to lie with "business and professional persons".

From which the conductors of the poll draw two conclusions as to the strategy of Roosevelt and of the Republicans. For Roosevelt, they say, "this would mean a swing toward the Right, toward economy, budget balancing and other conservative proposals", in an effort to win business to his side away from Republicans. For the Republicans, "this probably means moving toward a more liberal program", in an effort to win the workers and farmers away from Roosevelt.

There is a good deal of truth in these conclusions; only they have to be stated differently. Roosevelt is already moving to the Right, has been for some time, except that he continues to cover it up with "Left" gestures; while the Republicans, far from moving toward a "liberal" program, have been trying very hard, and for some time, to appear in more liberal clothing.

It is evident that the smashing of the A.A.A. by the Supreme Court (for which the Liberty League and the Republican bosses are responsible), the unrestrained attacks of Roosevelt's Right opponents on his relief policies, and lately the John Lewis policy of supporting Roosevelt—that these have tended to strengthen slightly Roosevelt's position among the mass of the voters. But only very slightly. The margin still continues very narrow. And if Roosevelt proceeds further on the theory that he has already got the toiling masses in his pocket and that the only thing left is to win business by moving further to the Right, he is headed for some surprises. He will not win much among business, but he will surely lose among the toiling masses, Lewis' support notwithstanding. Although this must be emphasized: *Lewis' policy of blanket endorsement no doubt tends to encourage Roosevelt to move to the Right.*

Very misleading are the figures of the poll on third party developments. The report says: "Third party vote, which has limped along at approximately 5 per cent for many months, dropped abruptly to 3.7 per cent, while the Socialist vote fell from 2.1 per cent to 1.8 per cent". The Communist vote is not in the picture at all, for the simple reason that this institute of "public" opinion refuses to register the Communist vote.

The poll registers "third" party votes. But since the voters are not asked to indicate their attitude to a Farmer-Labor Party, or

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one similar to it, the "third" party votes would include also those favoring a third party a la Talmadge and Al Smith. The number of persons favoring such a third party no doubt decreased in the past month, considering that the Talmadge "constitutionalists" and the Smith "Jeffersonians" have exposed themselves pretty clearly as the agents of the most unrestrained capitalist reaction. The drop in the third party vote from 5 to 3.7 per cent would seem almost certainly to reflect the weakening, if not the total disappearance among wider masses, of the tendency to support a "third" party of the Talmadge and Smith type. If this is so, then it is safe to assume that the 3.7 per cent third party vote almost wholly represents a tendency for a party of a Farmer-Labor type. And if we add the Socialist vote—1.8 per cent—we have 5.5 per cent in favor of such a party. This is a considerable proportion of the electorate and more than a sufficient base, *as a start*, to build a wide network of local and state Farmer-Labor Parties and for a national party. Furthermore, the vote is 5.5 per cent of the total electorate. This means a much higher percentage among the workers and toiling masses generally. All the more reason for driving ahead with the Farmer-Labor Party work.

And another angle of significance. The Socialist Party vote dropped from 2.1 to 1.8 per cent. A small drop, it is true, but significant as a tendency, especially as this tendency was very outstanding in the New York elections in 1935. Where did these votes go to? Hardly to the Republicans. Surely, very few of them to Roosevelt. The bulk must have gone to the Communists (whose vote the poll does not register) and to the "third" party, that is the Farmer-Labor Party. There is a serious warning in this drop to the Socialist Party's refusal to join in the building of the Farmer-Labor Party. Norman Thomas may believe that the absence of a Farmer-Labor Party may help to swell the Socialist vote. What will really happen is that the Socialist Party vote will be considerably cut if there is no Farmer-Labor Party: some of the vote going to the Communists, but a large percentage of the vote going to Roosevelt. In practice, and regardless of the personal wishes of the "Militants", reluctance and opposition to join with the Communists in the building of the Farmer-Labor Party may spell support for Roosevelt at the expense of considerable sections of Socialist voters.

* * *

TAXES. Congress is still struggling with Roosevelt's tax proposals, trying to frame legislation that will secure the required funds without hurting too much the corporations and the rich and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

without appearing too clearly as definitely hurting the toiling masses. In other words, Congress is trying to solve a problem in capitalist policies as practised by Roosevelt.

In the discussion around Roosevelt's proposal to tax the undistributed surpluses of corporations, we must not forget the other proposal of the President which is to reimpose and even to extend the processing taxes. Roosevelt insists upon burdening the toiling people with taxes—taxes upon food, upon the most essential means of livelihood. He recommends these taxes as a "temporary" measure, only for the next two or three years, and he is sure that "only a relatively light burden would be imposed on the producers, consumers or processors". How relative and how light will this burden be, Mr. President, for the unemployed, the ruined farmer, the employed worker earning $15 to $20 a week to support a family of four? Does the President, the "Great Humanitarian", know that for millions of Americans today ten cents a day in new taxes on food may mean the difference between a poor and miserable meal and no meal at all?

We must arouse the masses to a full understanding of this issue and seek to defeat the outrageous taxes on food.

And let us remind Mr. Roosevelt that his entire taxation policy, since he has been in office, has been to relieve the rich and burden the poor.

"Even as late as 1932 income taxes still accounted for 53 per cent of the government's total revenue," says Charles Merz in *The New York Times*, March 8. But since then the Roosevelt administration has enacted a whole system of indirect taxation which has shifted the main burden to indirect taxation. For every dollar spent by the Roosevelt administration in the last fiscal year, only 15 cents was derived from taxation of personal and corporation incomes, whereas 29 cents was raised from indirect taxation, *i.e.*, from taxes on tobacco, liquor, processing taxes (food), excise taxes, and custom duties. It is time to call a halt to this merciless snatching of the food from the mouths of the toilers and their families. This means defeating the processing taxes and increasing the rates of taxation upon the large incomes of individuals and corporations. This is the proper way to finance farm relief and unemployment relief.

As to the Roosevelt proposal to tax the undistributed incomes of corporations, we are for it. Only we want higher rates and fool-proof legislation so that no high incomes will escape taxation. We must press for a complete revamping of the taxation structure on the principle of making the rich pay for the crisis. But only organized mass struggles, especially through the building of the Farmer-Labor Party, can compel such legislation.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No dependence on Roosevelt is the first principle. He made a grand gesture by proposing taxation on undistributed corporation incomes but does nothing to make Congress realize it in effective legislation. If left to Roosevelt and Congress, the result might be as usual—a big fraud. But that is the reason that the matter must not be left to Roosevelt and Congress. The masses must take it up and demand tax legislation in their interests.

The Liberty League, and big business generally, are making a big attack upon the Roosevelt proposals to tax the undistributed corporation incomes. They are even trying to prove that this proposal will hurt the workers, on the ground that the undistributed incomes were used by the corporations to maintain production and pay wages during the years when they were not making any profits. From this it would appear as though the corporations are keeping their undistributed incomes solely for the benefit of the workers. Who will believe that? Who will believe that the undistributed incomes of the corporations are savings kept to pay workers wages in times of depression? If that were so, why don't these corporations take on immediately the 15,000,000 unemployed that are looking now for jobs? The corporations surely have the capital to expand, and the labor power is here, too; why, then, don't they expand and thus liquidate, or seriously reduce, unemployment? Why did they discharge these workers to begin with? If these undistributed incomes are to keep the workers employed during depressions, even when there are no profits, why have we today at least 15,000,000 unemployed? Why not at once open the factories and run them full blast?

The answer of the workers to the demagogy of the corporations is: we will do our own saving; just open the factories to the unemployed, reduce the speed-up, establish the 30-hour week, raise wages, abolish all indirect taxation, and make the rich pay for the crisis. The workers will say: To save for a rainy day for the benefit of the masses, pass the Frazier-Lundeen Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill, the Marcantonio Relief Bill, the Youth Bill, and the Farmers' Relief Bill, and the situation will be taken care of for the moment. For the rest, we will build our unions and organize the Farmer-Labor Party and fight on.

* * *

RELIEF for the unemployed is today more pressing than it ever was before. At present there are about 24,000,000 persons dependent on relief, as compared with 21,000,000 in January, 1934. These figures do not include most of those unemployed who need relief but are not on government relief rolls. There are no exact

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

figures of this category of unemployed. But in New York City, Laurence M. Marks, chairman of the Family Welfare Committee, is authority for the statement that the number of unemployed not on relief was about 450,000, as against 433,512 on the rolls in February this year. Yet the Roosevelt Administration persists in its attitude that relief needs are decreasing.

The A. F. of L. survey reports that, "Between December 1935 and January 1936, unemployment rose from 11,397,000 to 12,626,000, an increase of 1,229,000". It is known that employment normally falls off in January, the decrease in this month last year having been 699,000. This year it was 1,229,000, which is accounted for chiefly by lengthened hours and increased speedup, together with a slowing down of certain manufacturing industries. The true number of unemployed is somewhere about 15,000,000.

The Mayors' Conference requested President Roosevelt to appropriate a sum of $2,340,000,000 as a minimum to continue the W.P.A. program after July 1. This is obviously inadequate to take care of the approximately 14,000,000 persons that are receiving a livelihood from the work relief program (3,500,000 workers and their dependents). But what about the 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 persons that are not on the work relief program? And what about those hundreds of thousands, if not several million, that are not on any of the government relief programs?

It is clear that the only serious way of tackling the immediate relief needs is to adopt the Marcantonio Relief Bill, appropriating $6,000,000,000 to provide a minimum of necessities for every unemployed and needy toiler in this country. This, and the adoption of the Frazier-Lundeen Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill.

But President Roosevelt has his own calculations, based, not on the needs of the unemployed, but on his strategy to win the support of big business. Thus, in his special message, he asks Congress for an appropriation of only $1,500,000,000 for the W.P.A., which is about $1,000,000,000 less than the sum requested by the Mayors' Conference. True, he declared that he has about $1,600,000,000 from expended relief funds. Adding the two, we get a sum a little over $3,000,000,000 that Roosevelt wants for all relief needs for the next fiscal year. Even so, if he keeps up the W.P.A. at its present state, he would have to spend at least $2,500,000,000 for that, which would leave about $500,000,000 to take care of 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 persons that are not on the work relief program. This is absolutely and totally inadequate from the point of view of making sure that "no American should starve"—Roosevelt's own slogan.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It might be said that the President did not close the door to further appropriations depending upon the course of business and employment in the coming months. That is true; but it is also largely demagogy. He appeals to business to expand and to increase employment. But this he did many times; and what happened? When it paid the capitalists to expand, they did, but chiefly *by lengthening hours and increasing speedup.* The increase in employment from such "expansion" was very small. It should be evident even to the Roosevelt Administration that increased production nowadays bears very little relation to increased employment.

What's the use of appealing to business, except as a means of passing the buck, as a demagogic trick? Why does not the President *compel* big business to open the factories to the unemployed; compel the employers to raise wages, shorten hours (30-hour week), decrease speedup, etc.? Short of such drastic measures, unemployment will continue substantially on the same level, with slight variations up and down. It is therefore necessary to provide *now* for relief needs on this basis.

The latest business review of the American Federation of Labor has at last realized that there is great unused productive capacity in this country and plenty of capital to expand and thus absorb existing unemployment. But what does the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor propose the workers to do to force the capitalists to run industry to capacity and to employ all jobless at higher wages and on the basis of a shorter work-day? We can discover no such program among the leaders of the Executive Council, except pious wishes.

It is necessary now to intensify to the utmost the mass struggle for adequate unemployment relief and insurance. Congress and Roosevelt should hear from mass demonstrations all over the country what the demands of the masses are. The proposed amalgamation of the leading unemployed organizations in this country, to be effected at a national convention in Washington, on April 7-10, will create a body able to mobilize the masses and lead the fight for the Frazier-Lundeen Bill, the Marcantonio Federal Relief and Works Project Standard Act, and for the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

Greetings and wishes for success to this important national unification Congress of the unemployed!

* * *

THE strike of the Building Service Workers in New York was a great strike botched in the negotiations. The greatness of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strike lies in the splendid solidarity and militancy of the workers, in the wide sympathy for the strike among the workers of other industries, and in the active support given to the strike by organized groups of working class and middle class tenants. The strikers were not beaten, but their victory was considerably whittled away in the negotiations between the leader of the union and the employers helped along by Mayor LaGuardia.

It is absolutely certain that the Building Service Workers could have won all their demands. They were strong enough to do it. They were in a position to win the closed shop, their wage and other demands. But President Bambrick, chief negotiator for the union, let the victory slip out of his hands.

How did it happen? It is clear that the rank and file were not given sufficient say in the conduct and settlement of the strike. Had the membership secured its democratic right to determine, *at every step*, the conduct of the struggle, the negotiations and settlement, the result would have been different. But that is not all. The character of the main leadership has a good deal to do with the outcome. It was clear from the outset that President Bambrick was letting himself be influenced altogether too much by Mayor LaGuardia. What was LaGuardia's role in the strike? It was the role of a bourgeois politician, frightened at the sharpening fight and anxious to have it over with quickly no matter how little the strikers got out of it. LaGuardia was not interested in having the workers win the strike; he was interested in liquidating it. This is the best that can be said of his role in the strike. By letting himself be influenced by LaGuardia, Bambrick was endangering the strike from the very beginning.

LaGuardia may have intimated to Bambrick (we only guess) that failure to reach a quick settlement might "compel" him (LaGuardia) to give more leeway to his strike-breaking police department which did plenty of strike-breaking, as it was. The mayor may even have mentioned (in a friendly spirit, of course) the possibility of calling for the National Guard. That may be so. But was Bambrick helpless? Not at all. He could have gone to the Central Labor Union and placed the situation before it. With the universal sympathy of the New York workers and poor tenants, the Central Labor Union could and probably would have done what the Akron Central Labor body did: serve notice of a sympathy general strike. Short of that, the teamsters would have joined in sympathy, the needle trades workers likewise, the clerks, etc. The New York State Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and the Building Service International were all committed to the support of the strike.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Had Bambrick made bold use of all these tremendous reserves of support, it would not have mattered what LaGuardia thought of it. The strike would have been won also in the negotiations.

Now that the Building Service Workers have gone back to work, they should realize that they have not been beaten in the struggle. It depends upon them, at each job, to prevent lockouts and discrimination by instant strike action, to force rapid decisions of the issues of arbitration and to make their union an effective instrument of struggle for their own needs.

If there is doubt in anyone's mind as to whether we are right in our analysis of the strike leadership, let him see what the class enemy thinks of it. Says *The New York Herald Tribune* of March 16: "Settlement of the building service strike *reflects credit on both sides.*" When this paper praises Bambrick for the settlement of the strike, it is time for him to ask the reasons why.

* * *

SPACE does not permit more than mere mention of a number of other working class struggles of various degrees of maturity.

On the railroads. Comrade William Z. Foster analyzed the situation and formulated the correct demands of the workers (*Daily Worker*, March 10, 1936). The official leadership of the unions is inclined to temporize and give in, the latest proposal being to postpone the consolidation of the railroads for one year. This does not meet the situation; it only postpones and aggravates it. Now is the time to consolidate the railroad unions, to establish a unified and national policy for all railroad workers, to organize all workers in the industry. In this way the unions will be prepared to fight for the workers' needs: the six-hour day, no speedup, a fight for the reemployment of the unemployed. And together with this, active participation in the building of a Farmer-Labor Party. Only such an economic and political program will enable the railroad workers to meet the attack of the employers when the showdown comes, as it inevitably will pretty soon. Characteristically enough, all that Roosevelt could offer the railroad unions was advice to settle all these questions in negotiations with the companies. Can the government do nothing to help? It did a lot for the banks and corporations and railroad companies.

It remained for Roosevelt's Secretary of Commerce, Roper, to revive the Mutiny Law in order to prevent and break strikes of seamen. It will be appropriate for John L. Lewis, who calls upon labor to support Roosevelt, to raise his voice against this reactionary strike-breaking in clear and definite terms. The labor movement will no doubt back up such a protest to the full.

* * *

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BROWDER'S radio speech on a national hook-up has brought the message of the Communist Party to the widest masses of Americans. Its significance cannot be overestimated. It is already having a tremendous effect in making Communism nearer, more familiar and more acceptable to the workers and their families as well as to the toilers generally. The struggle for a Farmer-Labor Party has received a fresh and powerful impetus.

There are also a number of by-products. Coughlin, for example, found it necessary to speak "more Left", to appear more "anti-capitalist", and even to favor industrial unionism in the mass production industries. When Coughlin begins to carry gifts to the workers, we must say: Beware! At the same time we must intensify our work of winning the mass followers of Coughlin for practical and immediate struggles in the interests of the masses.

* * *

IN THE Howard interview, Comrade Stalin has given a most convincing explanation of the nature of the workers' democracy that is embodied and developed in the Soviet system. We should spread far and wide the words of the great leader of the world working class.

About the same time, there appeared in the United States a work by Beatrice and Sidney Webb: *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?* A great and monumental work! It will not easily find its way to the wide masses in book form. Yet the American masses should know what these two Socialists have found in the Soviet Union—the triumph of socialism and the unparalleled democracy of its Soviet system.

The Webbs are not Communists, by far. But they are honest Socialists who have dreamed all their lives of a true democracy of the toilers building a socialist society. They thought it could be accomplished in the Fabian, reformist way. They saw that it was not. But they found their dreams realized in the Soviet Union. And of this they write. A way ought to be found of making what they have to say available to the widest circles of toilers.

* * *

MAY DAY. Preparations for May Day should now be in full swing. *A united front May Day* is the demand of the present hour. New York, Chicago and Cleveland are showing the way. The fiftieth anniversary of May Day in the United States would be a great event under any circumstances. It should be made doubly so in the present situation of increased war danger and offensive of reaction.

Forward in the preparations for a United Front May Day!

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ernst Thaelmann, Proletarian Leader

[April 16 is the fiftieth birthday of Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, the beloved leader of the German Communist Party and of the German working class. For more than three years, since March 3, 1933, Comrade Thaelmann has been in the brutal grip of Nazi jailers. His life is in grave peril. But the moral and physical tortures to which he has been subjected have not broken the spirit of this indomitable fighter, of this heroic example of Communist tenacity. The imprisoned Bolshevik leader, Thaelmann, is the guiding spirit of the valiant Communist Party of Germany. He is the guiding force in its untiring efforts to unify the ranks of the working class for united front struggle against the Hitler terror and war incendiarism, for the overthrow of the bestial Nazi dictatorship. On his fiftieth birthday, the Communist Party of the U.S.A., in unison with the anti-fascists of the whole world, greets Ernst Thaelmann, the courageous leader, the inspiration in the fight for the emancipation of the entire working class.—EDITORS.]

COMRADE STALIN, in his interview with the famous German writer, Emil Ludwig, formulated the role of outstanding individuals as follows:

> "Marxism does not by any means deny the role of outstanding individuals or that men make history. . . . But naturally, men do not make history as fantasy directs or as they would like. Every new generation meets definite conditions which were already in existence in finished form at the moment when this generation was born. And great men are important only insofar as they understand how to take hold of these conditions, as they understand how to change them. If they do not understand these conditions and want to change them as fantasy directs, they end in the position of Don Quixote."

While the fascist ideology, with its Fuehrer theory, is romantically enthusiastic about the "individual will power" which can create everything out of nothing, Stalin's characterization of the proletarian leader starts from his class allegiance.

History, in the light of Marxism, which is history of class struggle, makes and shapes its great leaders and heroes. The great leaders of the proletariat, like Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, standing at the head of the working class and possessing profound understanding of the conditions of struggle, exercise great influence

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the course of world history. The working class of Germany and of the whole world is experiencing this truth in the present epoch of great class decisions. In the fire of the post-war class struggle there arose for the German working class its heroic, staunch leader, a model for the workers of the world, Ernst Thaelmann.

Our German brother Party is in the center of the fascist onslaught in Hitler Germany, Hitler fascism aims at it blow after blow, knowing that it is the nucleus of the anti-fascist struggle in Germany. The leader of the Party, Ernst Thaelmann, has been in jail for three years. Thousands of the Party's best fighters have been murdered; tens of thousands imprisoned. And yet the heroic Party lives, yet it fights, yet it is the shock troop of defense as well as of counter-attack against Hitler fascism. That is the work of Ernst Thaelmann. The Communist Party of Germany under his leadership became a solidly cast Party so that the most horrible fascist terror could not destroy it. Ernst Thaelmann taught his Party to launch again and again the ideological offensive against vacillations and all opportunistic trends. He taught his Party to consider as a constant and indispensable component of the Party's revolutionary work the ideological offensive, the consequence of which must be the practical struggle for the achievement of working class unity. By the method of conviction, with the fire of revolutionary theory, in constant struggle against isolation from the masses and always in closest contact with them, Ernst Thaelmann built a firm cadre of Party functionaries, trained in the school of Lenin, which has held up against the barrage of the National-Socialist dictatorship under conditions of the deepest illegality.

He has led the struggle for the unity of the working class. Today it is more necessary than ever to call to mind that fiery appeal of Ernst Thaelmann on June 11, 1931, which documents the determined will of this proletarian leader to create a fighting united front:

> "We call upon the Social-Democratic workers to struggle shoulder to shoulder with us. We propose this united front to them honestly and fraternally. We offer them our hand sincerely and in comradeship. We stand at their side in their daily needs and struggles. We never forget for a moment that they are our class brothers, as are all the workers in Germany. That is why we forge in common with them a Red unity."

He fought for and tried to win those class brothers who, driven by despair, had fallen prey to the promises of Hitler, to the fascist demagogy. In profound recognition of the essence of fascism, on November 1, 1932, he predicted to the S.A.* men who believed in Hitler's promises the fate that Hitler prepared for them on the Bartholomew Night of June 30, 1934:

* Storm Troops.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> "To the rebelling S.A. and S.S.* men we say: If you direct your pistols today against your revolutionary brothers and sisters, at the real fighters against Versailles, against our proletarian army of freedom, if you shoot down the honest fighters for socialism at the command of your fascist leader, we say: The hour will come when you, too, will recognize that you have been deceived and betrayed by your leaders, that you have been made use of as hirelings and mercenaries."

He has led the struggle for the youth, with whose needs and hopes he has felt himself closely related. At the national convention of the Communist Party of Germany, in October, 1932, he occupied himself in detail with the youth problem, which lay especially close to his heart:

> "It has been shown statistically that since 1910 from ten to twelve million young people have grown up, a post-war generation. They did not experience the war and the revolution or they lived through it only as children. This generation is already without economic roots before it enters into life. This youth goes from the school bench to the relief office. This restless, revolutionary-minded youth is seeking socialist ideals. We must admit that National-Socialism has succeeded in capturing a certain part of this youth. We must see to it that we win these masses of the youth to ourselves to mobilize them for the revolutionary way out of the crisis."

He fought for the national liberation of the German people just as he fought for its social liberation. At Thaelmann's suggestion the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, in August, 1930, drew up a program for national and social liberation of the German people. It is a model of national politics on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Fascism has prostituted the concept of national liberation into nationalist incitement, intended to prepare for war and further sharpen the national enslavement of the German people. For us Communists national liberation can grow only on the soil of proletarian internationalism. While the fascists in Berlin and in other German cities sang "Victoriously we will defeat France" and "Into Russia we will march", Ernst Thaelmann spoke for the national and social liberation of the German people on the basis of internationalism in the heart of imperialist France, in Paris. On October 31, 1932, he spoke before 15,000 French workers in the Salle Bullier. The French government had denied him an entrance visa. But the French workers greeted him with cheers. He had come, he said,

> ". . . to give evidence of proletarian internationalism, to bring charges against the capitalist governments of both our countries, here in the city of Jean Jaures. . . . On this side and on that side of the border the bourgeoisie attempts to deceive the masses into believing that the enemy of the workers is not the capitalist class in their

* Praetorian Guard.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> own country but rather the toilers on the other side of the frontier. We Communists say to you French workers and toiling masses: Your companion in suffering in Germany, the worker and peasant in that country, is not your enemy but rather your natural ally. In the same way we tell the German toilers that the French worker and toiler is never their enemy but rather their class brother and comrade. Nothing, nothing connects us, the representatives of the working class, with the German capitalists. Everything connects us with you, the exploited masses of the French people."

While the fascists were making their "struggle" against the Versailles Treaty into a campaign for armaments and booty, Thaelmann in Paris was speaking against the Versailles system. He did not speak in favor of a new Versailles, dictated this time by Germany's imperialists. He recognized the war danger that is behind the new German imperialism which has made National-Socialism its advance guard. From the Paris platform Thaelmann declared: "We do not want to restore the imperialist power of Germany." The struggle for national liberation was and is for him equivalent to the struggle against war, to the defense of the Soviet Union. Wherever he raised his voice he was the propagandist of the fraternal alliance of the workers of all countries.

On March 3, 1933, Ernst Thaelmann was put in jail. For three years he has been in the hands of the Brown police, a prey to bodily and mental torment and torture. But he remains unbroken. He, who created the iron cadres of our German brother Party, becomes in his cell the universal symbol of the anti-fascist struggle. What the world witnessed in the case of Dimitroff is happening now in regard to Thaelmann. The accused Dimitroff, torn from the world outside him, became, by his battle in the Reich's court, the organizer of a movement for the liberation of the German prisoners, in which the laboring masses of all the world participate. The incarcerated leader of the workers, Thaelmann, behind prison bars for three years, becomes the center of a united proletarian movement that spreads to all countries. The most militant forces of international labor, the best names in literature, art, and science join the Committee for the Release of Thaelmann.

Thaelmann is a symbol of the struggle for freedom, not only for the working class, but for all the oppressed who in the post-war period have been faced by the horrors of decaying capitalism in its sharpest form. In this way the struggle for the liberation of Thaelmann and the political prisoners in Germany becomes a bridge to the united front. The first great united front demonstration of Paris workers was held on Thaelmann Day, June 27, 1935. Trade unionists, Socialists, Communists, and Radical-Socialists united 60,000 strong in a mighty demonstration against French fascism.

German fascism holds Thaelmann, holds Ossietsky and Mieren-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dorff, holds a hundred thousand political prisoners as hostages. They are the first prisoners of war in the robber campaign which Hitler organized in the interests of German finance capital. Their lives are in constant danger. Only the greatest efforts can save them from the death which Hitler fascism has planned for them. A slackening in this struggle will be followed by the most serious consequences. The struggle for the freedom of Ernst Thaelmann and the political prisoners is at the same time a struggle against war. The stronger the danger of war grows, the more extensive and effective must be the organization of the struggle for the release of the German soldiers of freedom. Humanity is at war with fascist barbarism. To win Thaelmann means to win a battle for humanity.

The American working class and all anti-fascists have taken an active part in the struggle for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann and all anti-fascist prisoners in Germany. They understand increasingly that the fight of the German people is not an isolated one; that the struggle against Nazism is an inseparable part of the titanic fight between the forces of anti-fascism and fascism. Nazi Germany is the most dangerous fomenter of war; Thaelmann is the symbol of peace. Nazi Germany is ruthlessly and unremittingly preparing aggression against the Soviet Union; Thaelmann is the symbol of the defense of the Soviet Union. Nazism is in the forefront of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most oppressive elements of capitalism. Thaelmann is the symbol of the future free and happy socialist world.

It is for this reason that the American working class and all anti-fascists are turning more and more to a decisive struggle against Nazism and for the liberation of Thaelmann and Germany's imprisoned hundred thousand. Capitalism throughout the whole world is jailing hundreds of thousands of the best fighters against oppression. Tom Mooney, Angelo Herndon, the Scottsboro Boys, Antikainen, Gertrude and Paul Ruegg, Anna Pauker, Rakosi, and Prestes are victims of capitalist warfare against humanity, as Thaelmann and the countless victims and prisoners in Nazi Germany are.

The fight for the liberation of all victims of capitalist oppression is not limited to national frontiers. He who fights Hitler, fights Hearst. He who fights for Thaelmann, fights for Tom Mooney. It is for this reason that the American working class is fighting, and will continue to fight unfailingly for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The National Negro Congress

By JAMES W. FORD

THROUGH the vigilance, energy and steadfastness of the Communist Party on the Negro question a powerful movement among the Negro people is taking solid root. The ruling class of this country has used every repressive measure to stifle the resistance of the Negro people. With the tactics used in Germany by the fascists against the Jewish people and in Russia by the old tsarist regime against the many nationalities, the ruling class in this country tries to prevent all the forces with common interests from joining against war and reaction.

However, despite all their efforts, a mass movement arises among the Negro people. Fundamentally, a mass movement of the Negro people in the United States can be a movement of a whole nation of people against American capitalism; divergent class and group interests can come together in it.

This fact was never before so clearly shown as by the National Negro Congress which closed at Chicago on February 16. It would be worthwhile for white workers, and all who are sincerely interested in the problems of the Negro people, to give this movement their careful attention and help to build it into a powerful instrument to fight for Negro rights and national liberation.

The National Negro Congress represents a broadly developing movement. It hardly matters how divergent the groups within it may be at the beginning. In all probability, economic and social divisions will emerge within it; no doubt, tendencies to the Left and Right will grow. This movement has been brought together around a minimum program of common interests. The Left forces, because of their experience and understanding, can render great help to it.

The movement is not yet made up of a large, clearly conscious progressive group; and there are, consequently, great dangers to be guarded against from reactionary political forces, such as the Republican and Democratic Parties, because of their traditional influence among the Negro people. Various social segments and groups within the Congress are not yet (in the full political sense) aware of unity pacts and the full meaning of united front alliances. Yet there are, within the life of the Negro people, elements that want and factors that tend toward common, unified action for Negro rights.

One of the most hopeful forces in the National Negro Congress

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is the young people, who do not have to overcome worn-out ideas and who are energetic and open-minded.

In some respects, the National Negro Congress corresponds to a movement such as the Indian National Congress of India, which contains different class and group interests but which brings together a broad anti-imperialist movement.

At the present moment of capitalist decay the National Negro Congress movement has powerful dimensions and possibilities for aiding in forestalling the growth of fascism and the outbreak of war.

* * *

There are several points to be noted in connection with the rise of this movement that will serve as a guide for its future development:

1. The burdens of the economic crisis and the recent changes in the country and in the world at large which are leading to fascism and war have had profound and lasting effects on the Negro people.

2. During the period since 1929 great struggles have taken place involving all sections of the population. The Negro masses have learned valuable lessons in mass actions and have become more militant and determined in the struggle for Negro rights.

3. Many divergent sections of the Negro people and their organizations have been set in motion as never before.

4. A significant development towards the Left and for unity of action has taken place within the various Negro organizations; many leaders in these organizations, influenced by this change and spurred by events, have taken a Leftward course.

5. The Communists have played a big part in this development as well as in the larger struggle for the unity of the Negro people and the white masses. Our Party as a whole has helped to organize the Negro people and has gained wide support for their struggles.

6. There has been a growth of Communist influence among the Negroes and a better understanding on the part of Negro Communists of how to work among the Negro masses, bringing to them Communist ideas and methods of struggle, and creating faith among them in the sincerity of the Party and in its ability to break down the barriers of prejudice created by the white ruling class within the ranks of white workers. And, finally, the Negro masses have gained more and more confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party and are increasingly accepting and applying its proposals in the solution of their problems.

A number of these points can be illustrated by briefly showing how the National Negro Congress was organized and how the movement developed.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It may be remembered that the National Negro Congress was proposed last May at a National Conference held in Washington. Earlier, in January, 1934, at a symposium held in New York between Frank R. Crosswaith, Oscar De Priest, and myself, I made a suggestion for the calling of a National Negro Congress.

The May conference held in Washington was "devoted to the purpose of surveying the position of, and of suggesting a way out for the Negro people in the present economic crisis". The conference was sponsored by the Joint Committee on National Recovery.*

This conference showed that, side by side with the increased activity of the Negro masses there was an increase in the attacks on the Negroes and a growing menace from the most violent enemies of the Negro people. The economic and social causes for these growing attacks were very clearly brought out. The various participants in the conference dealt with this matter with dramatic forcefulness. Moreover, the speeches and reports of many of these participants indicate on their part a decidedly growing clarity on the class problems and the Negro, a broader outlook, and a desire for united actions in the solution of the problems of the Negro people.

For example, Mr. Albion Hartwell, of the Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance, showed the position of the Negro in employment and unemployment:

> "The fifteenth census, taken in 1930, showed 11,891,143 Negroes in the United States, constituting 9.7 per cent of the total population. Of these, 5,503,535 were listed as employed. Thirty-six per cent of all Negro workers were engaged in agriculture, nearly 29 per cent in domestic and personal service, and nearly 19 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. More than 3,500,000 Negro workers—a great majority of all those employed—are found within the categories of domestic and personal service and agriculture, representing approximately 65 per cent of all Negroes gainfully employed.
>
> "The figure for unemployment among Negroes in 1932 was placed at 1,500,000; in 1934, between two and three million. These figures mean that in 1934, 50 per cent of the working population were without jobs, whereas it is estimated that between 20 and 25 per cent of white workers were unemployed."

Mr. Edward Lewis, secretary of the Baltimore Urban League, indicated the increase of the above-mentioned terrific burden placed on the Negroes by discrimination in relief:

> "In the South there has been a sustained movement to keep relief

* The Joint Committee on National Recovery is composed of representatives from twenty or more Negro organizations with headquarters in Washington, dedicated to the task of investigating the effects of the New Deal on Negroes. Dr. George E. Haynes is chairman of the committee and Mr. John P. Davis is Executive Secretary.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

standards for Negroes low and to discriminate on the basis of color. The budget for a family of five is $7.85. The price of milk is deducted from the budget when it is made out for the client. This means that $1.54 is subtracted from $7.85 and the balance of $6.31 sent for the purchase of food for five people.

"An investigation of 75 white families on relief and 75 colored families showed that nine out of every ten colored families were below the standard set by the B.E.R.C. The North is not entirely free from discrimination of this sort, as was indicated in the recent Harlem investigation."

John P. Davis, Secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, stated:

"In the Southern sections of the nation the percentage of Negroes on relief is uniformly shown to be from two and one-half to three times larger proportionately than is the Negro population in this section. Although we represent less than 10 per cent of the total population of the United States, the number of Negroes on relief is today more than 20 per cent of the total number of families for the United States."

The plight of the Negro domestic worker has become a great social problem in the life of the whole Negro people. Mary Anderson, head of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, quoting a Y.W.C.A. secretary in Brooklyn, gave the following alarming facts about Negro domestic workers:

"The average monthly wage paid colored domestic help amounts to $25 when they live on the premises. In some cases this amounts to as little as $20. The conditions under which these people work are terrible. Whereas before the depression the laundry work was taken care of outside, now this has been added to the work given to the domestic help. Where the work is done on a daily basis, twenty to twenty-five cents an hour is common as the maximum compensation."

* * *

The representatives of the sharecroppers made the most militant speeches and brought to the conference heroic experiences of struggle. It had been brought out by the writer that the condition of the Negro farmers was undergoing steady deterioration:

"By 1910 only one-fourth of the Negro farmers owned land, the poorest and most heavily mortgaged. For the last 25 years capitalism has been taking even this land away from Negro farmers and farm owners. In 1930 there were 40,000 fewer Negro farm owners than in 1910. In the last ten years, between 1920 and 1930, Negroes lost almost 2,000,000 acres of land—land is being taken away now from Negro owners by banks, insurance companies, large landowners, and other creditors much more rapidly than before."

The Negro sharecroppers have protested against this situation

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and pressed forward for greater organization. The sharecroppers have aroused the Negro people to organized struggle more than any other section of the Negro population. Also the heroic example of Angelo Herndon and the results of the united front for his freedom brought a significant change in the approach to the solution of problems of the Negro people.

Other speakers at the May conference very clearly showed and stressed the need for organization. Mr. T. Arnold Hill, of the National Urban League, stated that "if workers are to have organization to protect their special interests, they must organize as workers . . . . This seems to me to be the only likely means of effecting the mass pressure necessary to achieve the concessions which are critically needed to protect the future of Negro labor."

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared:

> "The cause of the organization of Negro workers into the trade union movement has suffered greatly and been incalculably hindered by Negro leadership. The Old Guard conservative groups are simply opposed to organized labor for the same reason that Mellon or Morgan is opposed to it. As a matter of fact they would oppose a group of Negro workers organizing to fight for more wages and better working conditions just as they oppose white workers fighting for more wages and better working conditions. The Negro intellectuals, too, have rendered doubtful service to the cause of the organization of Negro workers, since they have been content merely to proclaim their opposition to the A. F. of L. because of the existence of prejudice in various unions affiliated with it which, of course, nobody denies or condones. . . . But along with a policy of destruction with respect to discrimination, segregation, and jim-crowism in the trade unions, there should also be developed a program of construction. Obviously, the only sound constructive program in dealing with the problem of Negro workers is organization."

Emmett E. Dorsey, of Howard University, said:

> "The depression has made heavy depredations on Negro business. In its crippled condition its grandiose claims have become ridiculous. The middle class Negro finds it necessary to find other means of employment. In many great cities he has organized movements designed to get Negroes employed in those concerns that cater largely to Negro patronage. The slogan of these campaigns is: 'Don't buy where you can't work'."

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, however, is a great puzzle. Some things he states clearly, others confusedly. On the one hand, he warns of the danger of war and fascism, and on the other, attacks the Communists who are outstanding fighters against fascism and war. For example, he declared:

> "We see today as the chief aggressor and threatener of violence

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not indeed Communism but greed and reaction, masquerading as patriotism, and fascism armed to the teeth, intolerant and ready to kill and repress not only those who oppose them, but those who dare to express opposing thoughts. . . .

"There is no automatic power in socialism to override and suppress race prejudice. This has been proven in America, it was true in Germany before Hitler and the analogy of the Jews in Russia is for our case entirely false and misleading. One of the worst things that Negroes could do today would be to join the American Communist Party or any of its branches. The Communists of America have become dogmatic exponents of the inspired word of Karl Marx as they read it. They believe, apparently, in immediate, violent and bloody revolution and they are willing to try any and all means of raising hell anywhere and under any circumstances. This is a silly program even for white men. For American colored men, it is suicide. In the first place, its logical basis is by no means sound. The great and fundamental change in the organization of industry which Karl Marx and his splendid mind and untiring sacrifice visualized must, to be sure, be brought about by revolution, but whether in all times and places and under all circumstances that revolution is going to involve war and bloodshed is a question which every sincere follower of Marx has a right to doubt."

Compare this with our position stated at the conference. James W. Ford declared:

"We believe that we express the minimum desires of the Negro people when we say that they want at least a decent livelihood, the rights of human beings, and an equal, honorable, and respected status in public and social life.

"Present-day capitalism has not been able to satisfy these needs and is less and less able to do so. There are those who say that by reforming capitalism it can be made to fill the needs of the masses. We will show that this is impossible. . . .

"The struggle for Negro freedom and Negro rights depends upon the organization of the masses to struggle for their daily immediate needs—better wages, unemployment and social insurance, civil rights, and equal rights. These daily struggles are a most important part of the struggles of the masses. These struggles are conducted by trade union organizations, by the Unemployment Councils, and through the various mass organizations of the Negro people. . . .

"It has been one of the most inspiring facts of recent history in the United States that white workers and intellectuals have begun to overcome white prejudice and lead in the struggle for Negro rights. This is because of the economic crisis. As they have lost their jobs, as their conditions have grown steadily worse, they have seen the necessity of uniting with their fellow black workers against the employers. This is due also to the fight of the Communists against prejudice and for working class solidarity and Negro rights. . . .

"As a result of the activities of the Communist Party, the feeling for solidarity has grown in unions of the A. F. of L. even in the South, for instance, in the United Mine Workers in the Birmingham region. In the North, largely as a result of the Communist policy and agitation, larger numbers of Negro workers are partici-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> pating in the labor movement. This movement of solidarity and of unity has also been joined by Negro intellectuals, teachers, doctors, and other professionals who are more and more understanding the need for a new policy in the struggles of the Negro people."

Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, stated:

> "The Negro in overwhelming mass is a worker and his salvation is bound up with the triumph of the working class."

There were other speakers who made valuable contributions on the plight of the Negro at the May Conference at Washington. Space will not permit us to quote from all of them. Among these were: Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, of Howard University; Lester Granger, of the Workers Council of the National Urban League; A. W. McPherson, of the Steel and Metal Workers Union; John McKinney, of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; Olive M. Stone, of the North Carolina Institute of Social Science.

Issues growing out of the conditions discussed by these participants and the effects of the changed situation in the country served as a basis for calling the National Negro Congress. Following the conference, more than 250 representative people, both Negro and white, signed a call for a National Negro Congress to be held at Chicago in February on the anniversary of Frederick Douglass.

* * *

We Communists were never doubtful about the significance or the outcome of the National Negro Congress. We were not deterred by the charges of "Communist domination" or fearful of "Republican control". We were guided by what we knew of the desire of the Negro masses for united action, and our understanding of these basic factors enabled us to state long before the Congress was convened:

> "Congresses of the Negro people are not new in America. But the character and composition of the 1936 Congress will present something *new* in the form of working out united efforts on a broad scale."

We pointed out that there was evidence of a "new and potent force making for a change within the ranks of the Negro people, *viz.*, first, the growing maturity of the Negro working class, its willingness and readiness to fight determinedly against oppression; and, second, the realization on its part, of its power, force and leadership in the Negro liberation movement". We pointed out also that other forces that would shape the policies of the Congress would be:

"1. The changing attitude of the Negro middle class and its organizations; (2) the growth of a broad progressive bloc in the of-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ficial trade union movement pledged to industrial unionism; and (3) the general united front mass movement of the toilers against war and fascism." The Congress confirmed our predictions.

The National Negro Congress brought together 913 delegates representing 585 organizations, from 28 states and the District of Columbia. These delegates represented 1,200,000 people. There were several hundred official observers and visitors. The three open general sessions were attended by from 5,000 to 6,000 at each session.

The following was the composition of organizations: civic groups and societies, 246; trade unions, 80; church and religious organizations, 76; fraternal organizations and societies, 70; political parties and groups, 44; youth organizations, 24; women's organizations, 19; educational organizations, 13; newspapers, 5; professional groups, 5.

In several communities city and state officials found it necessary to designate delegates to represent them at the Congress—the Governors of the states of Minnesota and Pennsylvania and the Mayor of St. Louis.

Fifty thousand copies of the pamphlet *Let Us Build A National Negro Congress* were distributed in all sections of the country, from Seattle down to Los Angeles: in the deep South, in the Mid-West, in the East, and in New England.

* * *

The keynote of the Congress proceedings was the address of A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and chairman of the National Negro Congress. His statement of the general situation facing the country and the Negro people, his proposal for independent political action in the form of a Farmer-Labor Party, and his analysis of united front tactics and strategy were the highlights of his address.

He stated:

> *"At the top of the list of remedies I wish to suggest the struggle of the workers against exploitation of the employers. Next, the struggle of the workers against fascism and for the preservation of democratic institutions, the arena in which alone their economic power may be built.*
>
> "Third, the struggle to build powerful Negro civil rights organizations. Fourth, the struggle against war which wrecks the organizations of the workers, and stifles and suppresses freedom of speech, the press and assembly. Fifth, the struggle to strengthen the forces of the exploited sharecropper and tenant farmers. Sixth, the struggle to build mass consumers' movements to protect the housewives against price manipulation.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"But the struggle to apply the aforementioned remedies can only be achieved through definite social, economic and political instrumentalities. Thus the fight against the economic exploitation of the workers can only be effectively carried on through industrial and craft unions, with the emphasis on the former.

"The industrial union is important in this stage of economic development because modern business has changed in structure and assumed the form of giant trust and holding companies, with which the craft union can no longer effectively grapple.

"Moreover, the craft union invariably has a color bar against the Negro worker, but the industrial union in structure renders race discrimination less possible, since it embraces all the workers included in the industry, regardless of race, creed, color or craft, skilled or unskilled.

"Thus, this congress should seek to broaden and intensify the movement to draw Negro workers into labor organizations and break down the color bar in the trade unions that now have it.

"The next instrumentality which the workers must build and employ for their protection against economic exploitation, war and fascism, is an independent working class political party. It should take the form of a Farmer-Labor political organization. This is indispensable in view of the bankruptcy in principles, courage and vision of the old line parties, Republican and Democratic. . . ."

These words show with vigor and clearness the difference between this and former congresses of the Negro people.

Indeed, the working class composition and character was of outstanding significance. The trade union commission, by its discussions and the resolutions brought before the general sessions, showed the able work of the trade unionists and assured the Congress in its future development of a solid working class base.

The trade union sessions were easily the most important of all the commissions; they were participated in by the largest number of people, ranging from 250 to 300 at each session. They discussed: "Discrimination in the American Federation of Labor", "Industrial Unionism", "Organized and Unorganized Negro Labor", "Independent Political Action for Labor", "The Organization of Domestic Workers", "The Randolph Resolution to End Discrimination in the A. F. of L.", and endorsed the proposal to support and build labor committees in Negro communities, such as the Harlem Labor Committee in New York.

The eighty trade unions represented 150,000 organized trade unionists, of whom between 35,000 and 40,000 were Negro trade unionists. This is almost one-half of the estimated 100,000 organized Negro trade unionists in the country. Despite the obvious strong points of the trade union composition of the Congress we cannot and must not close our eyes to weaknesses nor must we neglect to study how to overcome difficulties. There was a lack of representation from the basic industries, such as the steel, auto, and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mining industries. Here the question is one of reaching the unorganized, as most of the Negro workers in these industries are unorganized. The broad scope of the composition of the Congress, such as church, fraternal, and other organizations, gives us possibilities, through educational campaigns, of reaching these workers.

A weakness from another angle was the absence of delegates from unions with a large Negro membership, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. There was not a single delegate from Local 22 in New York, one of the largest locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

The Harlem Labor Committee, with 110 affiliated unions, did not have a single representative. This is indeed a serious shortcoming, when we consider that New York is one of the most labor-conscious cities in the country. The leaders of these organizations were approached and asked to send delegates and also to take a personal part in assuring a trade union base for the Congress. Representatives of these organizations promised to send observers; but none was present in Chicago.

For a time the reactionary bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor may be able to get away, as it has up to the present, with refusing to organize the unorganized Negro workers into trade unions of the A. F. of L. But this condition will not last long, because the whole force of the National Negro Congress will be used to expose and burn out these labor Tories.

In like manner, it is going to be difficult for so-called progressives in the labor unions and particularly the I.L.G.W.U., and most of all Negro labor leaders (without showing their complete tie-up with the reactionary bureaucracy and its policies on Negro labor) to explain away the following:

1. To their Negro members—why there were no delegates from the I.L.G.W.U. at the National Negro Congress and what attitude the leaders take to the problems of the Negro people as a whole?

2. To the membership as a whole—why did they sabotage such a movement that committed itself to the principles of trade unionism, that endorsed the fight against fascism and war, that showed tremendous sympathy for the Farmer-Labor Party?

3. What is your future attitude to the National Negro Congress?

Despite these weaknesses, there were representatives from the strong Meat Cutters' Union of Chicago; six delegates from the Postal Workers' Union of Chicago which has a membership of 4,000, one thousand of whom are Negroes; Local 802 of the Musicians' Union of New York, with a membership of 16,000,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1,200 of whom are Negroes, had three delegates; there were delegates from Local 370 of the Dining Car Employees; there were delegates from laundry workers' unions in Chicago, Washington, and New York. Briefly, some of the other unions represented were: domestic workers, restaurant and cafeteria workers, steel and metal workers, teachers, red caps, painters, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Chicago, fur and dye workers, and others.

Another important factor at the Congress was the favorable reception given the Farmer-Labor Party. The trade union session, during its deliberations, tested the sympathy for it. There was a majority support for it there. But the trade unionists did not force a vote, in order to prevent division that might have hindered the future work of getting wide action and support for a Farmer-Labor Party. Those who withdrew the motion acted wisely. In no sense was this a defeat or retreat.

There was tremendous sympathy in the general sessions for the Farmer-Labor Party, shown by the greetings given the speech on the "Farmer-Labor Party and the Negro People" at the second open general session. At the closing general session, when resolutions were adopted, it would have been entirely possible to have passed a resolution for the Farmer-Labor Party. But from the viewpoint of the strategy and tactics in the united front governing the work of the Congress, it would have been wrong to have formally passed a resolution for endorsement of a Farmer-Labor Party.

The composition of the Congress showed Republicans, Democrats, Communists, and Socialists. And while representatives of the anti-capitalist parties, Communist and Socialist, support a Farmer-Labor Party, there were other people, who, although dissatisfied with both the old parties, had not been instructed to commit their organizations on this question.

The program and meaning of a Farmer-Labor Party, the tactics in building a people's labor party in Negro communities, the meaning of a Farmer-Labor Party in the South, and the possibilities of a million-fold alliance of all the toilers and oppressed, were clearly indicated at the National Negro Congress.

(*To be continued*)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unity on the Unemployment Field

A FURTHER ADVANCE TOWARDS THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

By HERBERT BENJAMIN

WITHIN the present month there takes place an event of great importance to the millions of unemployed and to all who are concerned with the struggle against unemployment. After several years of costly disunity, the various organizations developed among the unemployed and relief workers are meeting together for the purpose of merging into a single, all-inclusive, united organization.

Unification takes place on the basis of an agreement reached between the two major organizations, the National Unemployment Councils, which were developed out of the struggles initiated and led by the Communist Party, and the Workers' Alliance of America, which was formed and led by members of the Socialist Party. By reason of the agreement reached between these two organizations, it becomes possible to draw into a unified movement the many other national, regional, state, and local organizations of unemployed and relief workers. Among this latter group are the National Unemployed Leagues which were formed and led by members of the Muste group before they were dragged into the counter-revolutionary sewers of Trotskyism. The American Workers' Union, which was organized in a number of Mid-Western states by a few free-lance Socialists, several independent state organizations, and a host of unaffiliated project workers' organizations will join in the immediate move to establish a unified organization for the struggle against unemployment.

Unity on the unemployment field has always been one of the principal objectives of the Communists and of all militants who have been active in the struggles and organization of the unemployed. The struggle for unity was always considered by the Communists an inseparable part of the struggle for jobs, for relief, and for social insurance. Since the end of 1932, when the Socialists and others began to build organizations alongside of the previously existing Unemployment Councils, the slogan "For One United Unemployed Organization!" has occupied a prominent place in our program and has served to guide our every action.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wherever it was raised, this slogan met with instant response and approval. Early in 1933, representatives of the Unemployment Councils carried this slogan into the first national conference called for the purpose of forming a new national unemployment organization. This conference adopted and acted favorably on this slogan, despite the opposition of Karl Borders, who called this conference as the head of one of the first Socialist-led unemployed organizations (Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment). No new national organization was, therefore, formed then. Later, in July of the same year, the Musteites called the first national convention of the Unemployed Leagues. Again representatives of the Councils brought forward the slogan "For One United Unemployed Organization!" Here, too, the slogan was greeted and approved by the rank-and-file delegates. They agreed to the formation of a new and separate national organization only because Muste made them think that this would facilitate speedy unification. The Workers' Alliance and the American Workers' Union were likewise established in national conventions which approved the proposal of Unemployment Council representatives, "For One United Unemployed Organization!"

It is, therefore, clear that the organized unemployed have always felt the need for unity. In this, as in respect to all major aims, there have never been any fundamental differences among the workers who formed the various organizations. The difference was rather in the degree of consciousness and consequently of the ability to fight consistently for the aims which they shared. This difference is of course important. It is the difference between merely wanting and actually having the capacity to get what is wanted.

The fact that unity is finally being achieved is, therefore, extremely significant. It indicates that the organized unemployed have learned how to get what they want and how to surmount the obstacles that stand between them and their needs. It is of no little consequence that the unemployed, who represent a fair cross section of the American masses, have become so conscious of the need for unity that it is no longer possible for those who are opposed, to block and thwart them. This not only proves that the organized unemployed movement is rapidly developing and maturing, but also that there is a great and growing desire for unity among the whole of the American working class.

Certainly, this advance toward unity is one of the most important achievements of the organized unemployed. For, as Marx and Engels pointed out in *The Communist Manifesto:*

> "From time to time the workers are victorious, though the victory is fleeting. The real fruit of their battles is not the immediate success, but their own continually increasing unification."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROOSEVELT'S RETURN TO HOOVER'S HUNGER PROGRAM

The development of parallel organizations on the unemployment field coincided with the change in the relief situation which was brought about as the result of struggles conducted by the Unemployment Councils. The chief factor responsible for the re-uniting of the organized unemployed is also the change again taking place in the relief situation.

Most of the organizations that developed outside of the Unemployment Councils were formed in the first year of the Roosevelt administration, when the "New Deal" ballyhoo and demagogy confused and misled many workers into believing that their conditions were being improved as a result of Roosevelt's "humanitarian" consideration for the "forgotten man". The Councils failed to convince the masses that the concessions granted them by Roosevelt were the product of militant struggle. Many workers fell prey to the illusion that they had no need for militant organization and struggle because Roosevelt would provide for them out of the kindness of his heart. They were encouraged by "New Deal" propagandists either to abandon organization altogether or else to adopt less militant forms of organization and action. This influenced the character and activities of the organizations that formed alongside and outside of the Councils, *during their first stage of development.*

As the masses became disillusioned, as they began to see through the demagogy of the "New Deal", they became more militant. They resorted of necessity to the policies and tactics of the Councils. The differences between the newer organizations and the Councils became less pronounced. They responded to calls for a united front and for united action. They became increasingly aware of the urgent need for unity.

The acute crisis brought on by Roosevelt's insistence that the "federal government must and shall quit this business of relief" accelerated the movement toward unification. Under the impact of this attack, the unemployed become increasingly aware of the urgent need for the greatest possible measure of unity. Realizing that they must unite their forces if they are to defeat the united forces of reaction to which Roosevelt is capitulating, the unemployed sweep away all barriers and obstacles to unity. This is the basic reason for the rapid progress that has been made in the past several months. This also suggests the basic problems and tasks of the unified movement that will result from the convention of all the unemployed organizations.

Roosevelt is returning to the unvarnished hunger program of Hoover. First, all direct federal relief was discontinued, on the demagogic plea that the unemployed want jobs and not doles. On

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this ground more than two million of the five and a half million families who were on relief were dropped. They were thrown upon the resources of states and local communities. Like Hoover, Roosevelt now declares that "relief is a local problem" and not the problem of the federal government. As a result, actual starvation is already widespread.

Now that direct relief has been discontinued, Roosevelt proceeds with the next move. By his orders, 800,000 W.P.A. and C.C.C. workers are to be dismissed by June 1. These workers are also to be abandoned to the "charity" of their local communities. A typical example of the kind of attitude that the local communities can be expected to take is provided by the city of Washington. This city is governed by a committee of the United States Congress. And Congress has decided to reduce by $600,000 the relief appropriation for that city. As a result, the District of Columbia will drop from its relief rolls all the *employables* and reduce the relief for those who remain. In other words, the federal government declares that employables are not entitled to relief. At the same time, these employables are fired from W.P.A. jobs. They are, therefore, left without jobs or relief.

The viciousness of the "New Deal" attack upon the unemployed is also indicated by the President's message on relief. Whereas a year ago, Congress was asked and did actually appropriate nearly five billion dollars ($4,880,000,000) for relief, this year Roosevelt informs Congress that "I am asking only for an appropriation of $1,500,000,000". In other words, Roosevelt, in order to placate the reactionary forces who are demanding that he balance the budget (at the expense of the masses) proposes to reduce by more than two-thirds the relief provisions for the constantly increasing masses of destitute unemployed.

It is, therefore, clear that there can be no division of opinion among the organized unemployed. All are aware that this vicious program calls for a determined, militant, united, and bitter struggle. That is why unity is so imperative, and that is why unity is being realized at this time.

The first act of the united organization will serve as a symbol of the purpose of unity. Immediately following the convention, the various organizations will conduct a National Protest March to the Capitol and to the White House. In addition to the regular convention delegates, organizations in the Eastern states especially are sending several thousand delegates to Washington for the day of this protest march.

This will be but the first of the many militant actions that must and will be conducted by the united organization in the effort to de-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

feat the Liberty League program to which Roosevelt is capitulating.

THE UNIFIED ORGANIZATION WILL RETAIN THE TRADITIONS AND BEST FEATURES OF THE MOVEMENT

The merger of the many organizations, into which the unemployed have heretofore been organized, will result, not only in a numerically larger and more authoritative organization, but also in an otherwise much improved body. The very fact that all these organizations recognize the need for unity is in itself proof that all of them have reached a higher stage of development and arrived at a common program of struggle. It shows that any differences that may have existed among them are now almost completely eliminated.

There will be no occasion for conflict on program and even on tactics among the members of the fusing organizations. All of them accept the Workers' Social Insurance Bill as their basic demand. All of them accept the Marcantonio Relief and Works Projects Standards Act as the outline of their immediate relief program. All of them recognize that organized mass action and pressure is the most effective means of advancing their program and defending the everyday interests of the unemployed. Likewise, all the organizations recognize that they must work in close co-operation with the basic economic organizations of the working class, the trade unions. Many of the organizations have already established formal, fraternal relations with the unions through an exchange of delegates between their respective central bodies. By their participation in strike struggles, they have demonstrated that they realize that their interests are closely bound up with the interests of the employed workers.

Likewise in their internal policies, all the organizations have, at least formally, the same position. They recognize that the unemployed organization must be all-inclusive and democratic. They accept all workers, regardless of sex, race, nationality, political or religious views and affiliations. They affirm the democratic right of the membership to govern their organizations in accordance with the will of the majority.

In their composition, too, there is little to distinguish one from another. As community organizations, they represent a fair cross-section of the working class of their respective communities. The Councils have their greatest influence and strength in the metropolitan centers. The other organizations have been most successful in the smaller communities. All of them have developed and brought forward excellent rank-and-file leaders.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that because there are no differences between the various organizations, there are, therefore, no distinctions whatever between them. It must be remembered

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that they vary considerably in length of existence, in degree of consciousness, and in type of leadership. All of these factors influence their present character. In order to assure lasting unity, it will be necessary for those upon whom the greatest responsibility devolves to take these factors into consideration. We must bear in mind that the unemployment movement is as yet the youngest member of the family of organized labor. Its development has not been carefully planned. It grew out of immediate, urgent needs, oftentimes taking form on the basis of temporary and superficial considerations. It is, therefore, by no means astonishing that the movement as a whole, the various different organizations, and even sections of the same organization manifest serious weaknesses and shortcomings.

In the present situation, it becomes possible to bring about a carefully planned reorganization of the entire movement on the basis of the accumulated experience of all the organizations. Unification is in a sense a re-birth of the unemployed movement. We should strive in the process to preserve all that is valuable in the traditions, experiences, and resources of the various organizations that make up the new united organization, even while we abandon and eliminate those weaknesses and shortcomings that have retarded the growth and minimized the effectiveness of the entire movement.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

As the oldest of the existing unemployed organizations, the Unemployment Council has the richest traditions and the greatest experiences in struggl.e Because it was developed out of struggles initiated by the Communist Party and has received much of its guidance and leadership from the Communist Party, the National Unemployment Council has pursued most consistently an advanced policy and course of action.

Under the conditions that prevailed when the Councils were formed, it was necessary to put large masses into motion and involve them in a militant mass action, even though they might not yet be ready to form and join a permanent organization. This meant that the Councils depended in a large measure upon the effectiveness of their slogans, and upon the alertness and militancy of the most advanced workers. They brought masses into action, but failed to retain these masses in permanent organization.

The practical results secured through such actions as the great March 6 (1930) demonstrations, the local, state and national hunger marches; and the countless semi-spontaneous struggles against evictions, for relief, etc., proved that considerable gains could be

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made even through actions which involved masses who had no definite organizational ties.

Our ability to rally large masses by means of correct slogans and our sound program and practical example of militancy gained considerable concessions for the workers and won for the Councils the respect and confidence of large masses. Because we depended mainly on these factors, we had no reason to resort to a mechanical means of control. We were able to influence, not only the workers who joined the Councils, but the members of all organizations and large sections of the unorganized unemployed.

But, this also encouraged a tendency to depend only on these factors and to disregard and give inadequate attention to the organizational consolidation of the movement. As a result of our failure to overcome this tendency, the organizations under our leadership failed to take broad, permanent organizational forms. The Councils became dependent upon the few militants, mostly Communists, who "held the fort" between mass actions. They failed to involve in day-to-day work the large masses of unemployed who were willing to take part in our demonstrations. As a result, the Councils took on the appearance of imitation Communist Party units, or appeared to be "mechanically controlled" and "dominated" by the Communist Party. The fact that this was not actually the case did not alter the attitude of the workers who were not yet ready to join or associate themselves with the Communist Party.

In attempting to avoid the mistakes of the Councils, the Socialist-led organizations often went to the opposite extreme. They devoted themselves to the building of organizations as an end in itself rather than a means and in the course of struggle. They stressed the unsound and incorrect claim that unemployed organizations must be "non-partisan" and that the organizations they built were in fact "non-partisan". They instituted practices that not only provided for the necessary organizational discipline but all too often also stifled the initiative of the local organizations and membership and deprived them of autonomy. They avoided struggle against backward moods and tendencies instead of utilizing expressions of such tendencies for the purpose of advancing the political consciousness of the entire membership.

As a result, the better organizational practices which they developed within their organizations did not serve to make for more effective struggle. Too often they had the form without the content. A few examples will serve to illustrate this point. Both the Unemployment Councils and the Workers' Alliance accept the Workers' Social Insurance Bill as an expression of their main direct objective.

Yet who can say that the Alliance membership is as conscious of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the need for struggle for the Workers' Bill as is the membership of the Councils? Or, let us take the vital problem of unity. The Councils inscribe on their every banner and raise on every possible occasion, the slogan "For One United Unemployment Movement!" The Alliance also favors unity. But when asked to conduct a campaign to popularize the need for unity, leaders of the Alliance state: "How can we? Most of our membership do not even know that there are any other organizations in existence."

It is clear, however, that such distinctions are not only not of a kind to make for separate organizations, but on the contrary, that they suggest the benefits that can be derived by merging the various organizations. One will complement the other. In the process a better balance will be established which will serve to strengthen the entire movement politically and organizationally.

SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS MUST UNITE IN JOINT EFFORT TO BUILD THE UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT

It is of no little significance that unification of the unemployed organizations is consummated as the result of an agreement between Communists and Socialists who are active in the unemployment field. This once again demonstrates the important results that can be achieved for the whole working class through the joint action of Socialist and Communist Parties. By reason of this agreement it becomes possible to unite and thus strengthen, not only the organizations under the direct Socialist and Communist leadership, but also the many independent organizations that play an important role in the struggle against unemployment.

Unity, which is so imperative, becomes possible as well as necessary, because the Communists in the unemployment movement were determined to achieve unity and consciously directed themselves to this purpose. It was necessary to make many substantial concessions in order to bring an end to the detrimental divisions in the unemployment movement. The Councils agreed to enter the much younger Socialist-led organization, the Workers' Alliance, which was formed only a year ago. Despite the fact that the Councils are still the largest single organization in the field, they agreed to assure to the Workers' Alliance a majority of 15 to 7 in the voting strength at the convention and in the membership of the Executive Board. Members of this organization have also been assured of the main posts within the unified organization.

These concessions were made in order that the much needed unity might not be further delayed by bickerings over questions of formal leadership and control. They impose, however, upon both Socialists and Communists a grave responsibility. The Socialists who

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will be in the majority must prove themselves capable of leading a much bigger and broader movement. They must learn to think and act in terms of the interests of the unemployed as a whole and not merely of a fractional group. The Communists must prove their ability to contribute their experience and their resourcefulness within a movement in which they will occupy the position of a minority.

Unemployment becomes an ever more important issue for the whole working class. The effectiveness of our struggle against unemployment will greatly affect the success of our struggle on all fronts. Nothing so much challenges capitalism as its inability to provide to millions the opportunity to work and earn a livelihood. These millions and the many more who, although still employed, are constantly menaced by the plague of unemployment, want to fight against this plague.

The unemployment movement is bound to play an important role in all the struggles before us. The fight against fascism, against war, against the suppression of civil rights is of great concern to the embittered masses who make up the huge army of unemployed. The fight for relief and for social insurance, for the right to work and enjoy the fruits of their labor is a fight of the whole working class and of the vast masses of the people as a whole. The issue can rally masses to united independent political action. The masses of unemployed can be an important factor in the struggle to build a powerful, all-inclusive party of the masses—a Farmer-Labor Party.

Communists and Socialists alike will do well to realize that neither one, nor the other, and not even both combined, necessarily have a monopoly on the unemployment movement. Some Communists might have believed that we had such a monopoly in the period up to 1932, when we were the uncontested leaders in the field. But we have seen how our mistakes and shortcomings served to narrow the Councils and lend grist to the mill of those who undertook to build rival organizations. We should remember, too, how Father Cox built what, for a time, threatened to be a serious fascist menace—his "Blue Shirt" movement. Nor should we forget that Hitler was able to win over large sections of the jobless army in Germany and use them to fortify his barbarous dictatorship.

Socialists and Communists may still have differences and seek to strengthen their respective positions within the unemployment movement; but we must remember that the interests of the unemployed and of the entire working class demand that we work together to build an organization that can satisfy the needs of the unemployed. Only this will defeat the brutal program of the reactionary forces represented by the Liberty League. Only this will prevent the budding American Hitlers, the Coughlins, the Hearsts,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

et al., from misleading and exploiting the desperate unemployed masses.

It is not by means of mechanical control of our relatively puny organizations that we can safeguard the unemployed against the attacks now being directed against them. Only the improvement of our policies and tactics can assure the development of an effective struggle against unemployment and of a powerful mass organization that can win the demands of the unemployed and further the advance towards our ultimate aims.

The program and aims of the unemployment movement have been fully crystallized in the course of the past six years. They correspond to the basic needs and interests of the entire working class. They can be fully supported by the wide masses who seek improvement in their immediate economic conditions. They can be fully supported by Communists, Socialists, and all others who are willing to work for a society that shall be free of hunger and want. Unity around this program is, therefore, possible as well as necessary. Let us, however, remember that time presses, that we cannot wait. We must proceed towards unity with increasing earnestness and at an increasing tempo. For, as Marx and Engels indicated in *The Communist Manifesto*, from which we quoted at the beginning of this article:

> "The medieval burghers . . . took centuries to achieve unity . . . the modern proletariat can join forces within a few years."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Roy Howard's Interview with Joseph Stalin

[We are publishing the text, in full, of the interview that Roy Howard, Chairman of the Board of the Scripps-Howard publications, had with Comrade Stalin, because of its tremendous world political importance. This document is a challenge which living socialism flings at decaying capitalism.

It is significant that in releasing his version of the interview to the press, Mr. Howard completely omitted all reference to the issue of Soviet democracy—an "oversight" in regard to a point which stabs at the hollow pretensions to democracy on the part of capitalist countries, and which reveals that the Soviet Union alone enjoys genuine, proletarian, democracy. The omission is especially significant in that the full text as here published shows that the interviewer did pose questions to Comrade Stalin in regard to individual freedom, the new Soviet Constitution, and Soviet democracy, and that Comrade Stalin's replies constitute a masterly, compelling section of the interview.—EDITORS.]

HOWARD: What would, in your opinion, be the consequences of the recent events in Japan for the situation in the Far East?

STALIN: So far, it is difficult to say. Too little material exists for this. The picture is not sufficiently clear.

HOWARD: What would be the attitude of the Soviet Union should Japan launch a serious military drive against the Mongolian People's Republic?

STALIN: In case Japan ventures to attack the Mongolian People's Republic, seeking to destroy its independence, we will have to assist the Mongolian People's Republic. Litvinov's assistant, Stomonyakov, [Assistant People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs] has already recently so informed the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, and pointed out the invariably friendly relations which the U.S.S.R. entertained with the Mongolian People's Republic since 1921.

We will assist the Mongolian People's Republic in the same way as we helped them in 1921.

HOWARD: Would a Japanese attack to seize Ulan Bator make positive action by the U.S.S.R. necessary?

STALIN: Yes, it would.

HOWARD: Have recent events developed any new Japanese

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

activities in this region which have been construed by the Soviets as of an aggressive nature?

STALIN: The Japanese seem to continue concentrating troops near the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic, but so far, no new attempts at frontier clashes are observed.

HOWARD: The Soviet Union appears to believe that Germany and Poland have aggressive designs against the Soviet Union and are planning military cooperation which should aid the realization of these designs. Poland has, however, protested its unwillingness to permit any foreign troops to use her territory as a basis for operations against a third nation. How does the Soviet Union envisage such aggression by Germany? From what position and in what direction would German forces operate?

STALIN: History shows that when a state is intent upon making war against another state, even though not adjacent, it begins to seek frontiers across which it could reach the frontiers of the state which it desires to attack. Usually, the aggressive state finds that frontier.

It finds them either with the aid of force, as in 1914, when Germany invaded Belgium in order to deal a blow against France or it "borrows" a frontier, such as Germany did with regard to Latvia, for instance, in 1918, in attempting to break through to Leningrad across Latvia.

I don't know what specific frontiers Germany could adopt for her purposes, but I think that those willing "to lend" a frontier to her can be found.

HOWARD: Seemingly the entire world today is predicting another great war. If war proves inevitable, when do you think it will come, Mr. Stalin?

STALIN: This is impossible to predict. War may break out unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared. They simply start. But on the other hand, I believe that the position of the friends of peace is strengthening. The friends of peace are able to work in the open. They base themselves upon the force of public opinion. They have at their disposal such instruments as, for instance, the League of Nations. This is to the advantage of the friends of peace.

Their strength lies in the fact that their activities against war are based on the wide masses of people. There is no nation in the whole world desiring war.

As regards the enemies of peace, they are forced to work secretly. This is to their disadvantage.

However, the possibility is not excluded that due to this very fact they venture upon military adventures as an act of desperation. One of the newest successes of the cause of the friends of peace is the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the Frence Chamber of Deputies. This fact represents a certain obstacle to the enemies of peace.

HOWARD: Should war come, Mr. Stalin, where is it most likely to break out? Where are the war clouds more menacing, East or West?

STALIN: In my opinion, there are two focal points of the war danger.

The first focal point is the Far East zone of Japan. I have in mind repeated statements by Japanese military men containing threats against other states.

The second focal point in the zone is Germany. It is difficult to say which is more menacing. But both of them exist and both are smoldering. In comparison with these two principal focal points of the war danger, the Italo-Ethiopian war represents an episode.

So far, the Far Eastern focal point of danger is the most active. It is possible, however, that the center of the menace may shift to Europe. Evidence of this is provided, for instance, by Hitler's recent interview given to a French paper. In this interview, Hitler seems to attempt to say peaceful things. But this "peacefulness" of his is so thickly interspersed with threats against France and the Soviet Union that nothing remains of the "peacefulness".

As you can see, even when Hitler desires to speak for peace, he cannot dispense with threats. This is symptomatic.

HOWARD: What situation or condition, in your opinion, furnishes the chief war menace today?

STALIN: Capitalism.

HOWARD: In which specific manifestation of capitalism?

STALIN: In its imperialistic, annexationist manifestations.

You remember how the first world war broke out. It broke out as a result of the desire to redivide the world.

Today the background is the same. There are capitalist states which consider themselves cheated, during previous redivisions of spheres of influence, territories, sources of raw materials, markets, etc., and which would again desire to redivide them to their own advantage.

Capitalism in its imperialistic stage is a system which regards war as a legitimate method for solution of international disputes—a method which is legitimate in fact if not legally so.

HOWARD: May there not be an element of danger in the genuine fear existing in what you term capitalistic countries, of intent on the part of the Soviet Union to force its political theories on other nations?

STALIN: There is no justification for such fears. If you think that the people of the Soviet Union have any desire themselves, and,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moreover, by force, to alter the face of surrounding states, then you are badly mistaken.

The people of the Soviet Union naturally desire that the face of surrounding states should change, but this is the business of surrounding states themselves. I fail to see what dangers surrounding states can see in the ideas of the Soviet people if these states are really firmly seated in their saddles.

HOWARD: You appreciate, no doubt, Mr. Stalin, that much of the world had long entertained a different impression.

STALIN: This a product of misunderstanding.

HOWARD: A tragic misunderstanding?

STALIN: No, comic. Or perhaps tragic-comic.

You see, we Marxists believe that revolution will occur in other countries, as well. But it will occur at a time when it will be considered possible or necessary by revolutionaries of those countries. Exported revolution is nonsense. Each country, if it so desires, will make its own revolution. And if no such desire exists, no revolution will occur.

For instance, our country wanted to effect a revolution, and did effect it, and now we are building a new classless society. But to assert that we desire to bring about revolution in other countries, by interfering with their lives, is to speak of something which does not exist and which we never preach.

HOWARD: At the time of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., President Roosevelt and Litvinov exchanged identical notes concerning the question of propaganda. Paragraph four of Litvinov's letter to President Roosevelt says that the Soviet government undertakes "not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or preparation for the overthrow of, or bringing about by force, of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions". Why, Mr. Stalin, did Litvinov sign this letter in compliance with the terms of paragraph four if it is incompatible with the interests of the Soviet Union or beyond its control?

STALIN: Execution of the obligation of the paragraph which you quoted is within our control.

We have been carrying out and will carry out these obligations. According to our constitution, political emigres have the right to reside on our territory. We accord them the right of asylum, the same as the United States accords the right of asylum to political emigres.

It is entirely obvious that when Litvinov signed this letter he assumed that obligations contained in it have a reciprocal character.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Do you, Mr. Howard, regard it as conflicting with the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement if there are Russian whiteguard emigres in U.S. territory conducting propaganda against the Soviets and in favor of capitalism and receiving material assistance from American citizens and sometimes representing terroristic groups?

Obviously these emigres enjoy the right of asylum existing also in the U.S. So far as we are concerned we would never tolerate a single terrorist in our territory regardless against whom he would contemplate his crimes. Apparently the right of asylum receives broader interpretation in the U.S.A. than in our country.

Well, we don't complain. Perhaps you would object that we sympathize with those political emigres arriving in our territory. But are there no American citizens sympathizing with whiteguard emigres who conduct propaganda in favor of capitalism, against the Soviets? Then what does the point involve? The point is not to assist these persons, not to finance their activities. The point is that officials of both countries should not interfere in the internal affairs of the other country.

Our officials are honestly carrying out this obligation. If any one of them is guilty, let us be informed. If things should go too far and deportation of all whiteguard emigres from the United States were demanded, this would be an attempt against the right of asylum promulgated in both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Here we must recognize a certain reasonable limit for claims and counter-claims. Litvinov signed his letter not in private capacity but as representative of the state, just as did President Roosevelt. Their agreement represents an agrement between two states. Signing this agreement both Litvinov and President Roosevelt as the representatives of two states have in mind the activities of the agents of those states who should not and will not interfere in each other's internal affairs.

The right of asylum promulgated by both countries could not be affected by this agreement. Within this framework the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement should be interpreted as an agreement between representatives of two states.

HOWARD: Did not Browder and Darcy, American Communists, appearing before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in Moscow last summer appeal for the overthrow by force of the American government?

STALIN: I admit that I do not recall the speeches of Comrades Browder and Darcy. I do not even recall of what they spoke. It is possible that they said something of this nature. But it was not the Soviet people who created the American Communist Party. It was created by Americans. It legally exists in the U.S.A., it nominates

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its candidates in the elections, including Presidential elections.

If Comrades Browder and Darcy once made a speech in Moscow, then at home, in the U.S.A., they made similar and doubtlessly even more determined speeches, hundreds of times.

American Communists have the opportunity to preach freely their ideas. It would be absolutely wrong to hold the Soviet government responsible for activities of the American Communists.

HOWARD: But in this instance, is it not a fact that their activities took place on Soviet soil contrary to the terms of paragraph 4 of the agreement between Roosevelt and Litvinov?

STALIN: In what do the activities of the Communist Parties consist? In what ways can they manifest themselves?

These activities usually consist in the organization of working masses, in organizing meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc. It is absolutely clear that American Communists cannot perform this in Soviet territory. The American workers are not in the U.S.S.R.

HOWARD: I take it that the gist of your thought then is that an interpretation can be made which will safeguard and continue good relations between our countries?

STALIN: Yes, absolutely.

HOWARD: Admittedly communism has not been achieved in Russia. State socialism has been built. Have not fascism in Italy and National Socialism in Germany claimed that they have attained similar results? Have not both been achieved at the price of privation and personal liberty sacrificed for the good of the state?

STALIN: The term "state socialism" is not precise. Under this term many understand an order under which a certain part of the wealth, sometimes a quite considerable part, passes into state ownership or under its control while in the great majority of cases the ownership of plants, factories, and land, remains in private hands.

Many understand "state socialism" in this way. Sometimes a system is concealed behind this term in which the capitalist state, in the interests of preparation for the conduct of war, takes upon itself the maintenance of a certain number of private enterprises.

The society which we have built can in no way be termed "state socialism."

Our Soviet society is socialist because private ownership of factories, plants, land, banks and means of transportation has been abolished in our country, and replaced by public ownership. The social organization which we have created can be termed a Soviet, socialist organization which has not yet been quite completed, but is in its root a socialist organization of society. The foundation of this society is public ownership: state ownership, namely, ownership by the entire people as well as cooperative-collective farm property.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Neither Italian fascism nor German national "socialism" have anything in common with such a society, primarily because private ownership of factories, plants, lands, banks, means of transportation, etc., remain untouched there, and, therefore, capitalism in Germany and Italy remains in full force.

Yes, you are right that we have not yet built a communist society. It is not so easy to build such a society.

The difference between a socialist and communist society is probably known to you. A certain inequality in regard to property still exists in a socialist society. But in a socialist society there is no unemployment, no exploitation, no oppression of nationalities. In a socialist society, everybody is obliged to work even though he is remunerated for his labor and not yet according to his needs, but according to the quantity and quality of the labor expended.

Therefore, wages still exist, and unequally differentiated wages at that. Only when we succeed in creating such an order under which people receive for their labor from the society not according to the quantity and quality of labor, but according to their needs, will it be possible to say that we have built up a communist society.

You say that in order to build our socialist society we sacrifice personal liberty and suffer privations. In your question appears the notion that socialist society negates personal liberty.

This is incorrect. Of course, in order to build something new, one has to economize, accumulate means, temporarily limit one's requirements, borrow from others. If you want to build a new house, you save money temporarily and limit your requirements, otherwise you might not build your house.

This is all the more when the upbuilding of a whole new human society is concerned. It was necessary, temporarily, to limit certain requirements, accumulate necessary means, strain forces. We acted precisely in this way and built a socialist society.

But we built this society not for the curbing of personal liberty, but in order that human personalities should really feel free. We built it for the sake of real personal liberty, liberty without quotation marks.

It is difficult for me to imagine what "personal liberty" the unemployed can have who go hungry and cannot find utilization of their labor.

Real liberty exists only there where exploitation has been annihilated, where no oppression of some peoples by others exists, where there is no unemployment and pauperism, where a person does not tremble because tomorrow he may lose his job, home and bread. Only in such a society is real and not illusory personal and every other liberty possible.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOWARD: Do you view as compatible American democracy and the Soviet system?

STALIN: American democracy and the Soviet system can exist simultaneously and compete peacefully. But one cannot develop into the other. The Soviet system will not evolve into American democracy or vice-versa.

We can exist peacefully together if we don't indulge in too much mutual fault-finding in all kinds of trifles.

HOWARD: A new constitution is being elaborated in the U.S.S.R. providing for a new system of elections. To what degree can this new system alter the situation in the U.S.S.R., since formally only one Party will come forward at elections?

STALIN: We will adopt our new constitution probably at the end of this year. The commission for elaborating the constitution is functioning and will soon finish its work.

As was already announced, in accordance with the new constitution, elections will be universal, equal, direct, and secret.

You are misled by the fact that only one Party will come forward at these elections. You do not see how there can be an election struggle under these conditions.

It is evident that election lists will be put out not only by the Communist Party, but by all kinds of public and non-Party organizations. And we have hundreds of such. We have no parties standing in opposition to each other, just as we have no class of capitalists and a class of workers exploited by capitalists in opposition to each other.

Our society consists exclusively of free working people of cities and villages, workers, peasants, intelligentsia. Each of these strata may have its special interests and express them in numerous existing organizations.

But as soon as there are no more classes, as soon as boundaries between classes are effaced, as soon as only a few but non-fundamental differences between various strata of the socialist society remain—there can no longer be nourishing ground for the formation of parties struggling among themselves.

Under national "socialism", there is also only one party. But nothing will come out of this fascist one-party system. The situation is that in Germany capitalism has remained, classes and class struggle have remained which all the same will break into the open, which includes also the field of struggle of parties representing opposing classes just as it broke through in, let us say, Spain.

In Italy also, only one party, namely, the Fascist Party exists, but for the same reasons and it will fare no better there either.

Why will our elections be universal?

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Because all citizens, excluding those deprived of vote by court, will have the right to vote and the right to be elected.

Why will our elections be equal?

Because neither differences in regard to property (differences partly existing) nor differences of race and nationality will cause any privileges or disadvantages. Women will enjoy the right to elect and be elected equally with men. Our elections will be really equal.

Why secret?

Because we desire to give the Soviet people absolute liberty of voting for those they desire to elect, those whom they trust to ensure their interests.

Why direct?

Because direct elections on the spot to all representative organs, up to the supreme organ, are a better guarantee of the interests of the working population of our boundless country.

Do you think the election struggle will not exist? But it will exist, and I foresee a very animated election struggle.

Not a few organizations exist in our country which function poorly. Sometimes it happens that this or that local government or organ have to satisfy one or another of the many-sided and ever increasing demands of the working population of town and countryside.

Have you or haven't you built a good school? Haven't you improved living conditions? Aren't you a bureaucrat? Have you helped to make our labor more effective, our life more cultured?

Such will be the criteria with which millions of voters will approach candidates, casting away those who are unfit, striking them off lists, advancing better ones, nominating them for elections.

Yes, the electoral struggle will be animated. It will proceed around numerous very sharp questions, namely, practical questions having first-rate significance for the people.

Our new election system will spur on all institutions and organizations and will force them to improve their work. Universal, equal, direct and secret elections in the U.S.S.R. will be a whip in the hands of the population against poorly functioning organs of government.

Our new Soviet constitution will, in my opinion, be the most democratic constitution of all those existing in the world.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Close Ranks! Forward!

AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR IN BRAZIL!

By HARRISON GEORGE

THERE is no point in writing epitaphs. The dead are no more. My son Victor is dead. Why, then, should not I be allowed the comfort of forgetfulness?

But, the boy is not merely dead. He was murdered. By the enemy class. By the hand that has forged the shackles that enchain you and me and all our class. By American imperialism, however obscurely it hides behind the bloody cloak of Getulio Vargas, the polished savage who occupies the presidency in that far-off land of Brazil.

Hence, I am not permitted to forget. I am allowed no peace while the war is on. And the immediate objective is to win, to wrest from the beast of the Brazilian jungle, the lives of Luis Carlos Prestes and Arthur Ewert. Therefore neither you nor I can justly claim furlough.

My son is only one of those fallen. Close ranks! Forward!

We cannot even stop to bury our dead. Close ranks! Forward!

* * *

Larger than continental United States, Brazil sprawls its hugeness across the equator. Almost wholly in the torrid zone, from its vast steaming jungles of the Amazon basin lying nearly flat beneath the equatorial sun, to the pleasing, green-draped mountains of the southern coast, a land both beautiful and terrible. Yet, a land rich in resources for raw materials. A population of 43,000,000. A prize for imperialist conquest.

And imperialism has not failed to make the most of it. Even while under the monarchy, before it was overthrown and a republic set up in 1889, the extermination of the native Indians and the importation of Negro slaves from Africa marked the conquest of Brazil by Portugal when it was still a power.

With the repubic, there grew the penetration and domination of British capital. This held until the World War. British investment, totalling some 287,306,750 pounds sterling, still exceeds American investments of (in 1930) $557,000,000.

But, with the World War, American imperialism began a continuous fight to wrest dominance from Britain. This can be seen in the rate at which American investments have increased, from a

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mere $50,000,000 in 1913, to $476,000,000 in 1929, to $557,000,000 at the end of 1930. American communications corporations broke the British monopoly. The British became so alarmed that years ago they revised their charters to prevent losing control through their holdings being "raided" by Americans.

Likewise in trade, American imperialism has, since the World War, been fiercely driving out the British. American trade with Brazil increased 103 per cent from 1913 to 1927, and in 1932 the United States supplied 30.2 per cent of Brazilian imports, half as much again as England.

How dependent Brazilian economy is upon American favor, can be seen in the fact that the United States takes 45.8 per cent of all Brazilian exports. This is largely coffee. Brazil sends no less than a billion pounds of coffee to the United States each year. And, please note, this entire coffee export business is in the hands of two or three American firms.

The Morgan subsidiary, the same from which Butcher Machado of Cuba once drew a "worker's" wage before elevation to power, the Electric Bond and Share Company; the Rockefeller Standard Oil of New Jersey; the United States Steel Corporation (grabbing the iron and manganese of the State of Minas Geraes); the American Smelting Company; Armour & Company, with one of the largest packing houses in the world—do these not represent to any American worker the same exploiters who daily rob him, who, in the Liberty League and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, are, with Hearst, the central force driving for fascism in the United States? All these, and more, are today enslaving and oppressing the toiling masses of Brazil.

* * *

Hundreds of miles from the coast, up the broad Amazon River and just under the equator, coming from the south through the flat jungle, the Tapajos River joins the Amazon. Along this Tapajos River, Henry Ford, the emperor of Detroit, the slave driver also of Rouge River, has a perpetual concession, a tremendous area of 3,700,000 acres, to raise rubber.

The Brazilians call it "Fordlandia". By the terms of the concession, Ford is the law, Ford slave-drivers are the government. Brazilian law does not apply, has no jurisdiction in Fordlandia. Extra-territoriality. Ford has, there in Brazil, his own army to "maintain law and order". And, it must be said, an army must be sorely needed to hold down the thousands of Indians and Negroes of Fordlandia, who get a top wage of 12 cents a day and have to spend that at company stores.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More than Ford's army was needed at the end of 1930, when the slaves—for they are nothing less—revolted. The present president of Brazil, a dictator who seized power in 1930 by force of arms and holds on to power by force of arms, sent reinforcements to Ford's army from Para, near the mouth of the Amazon, and the revolt was drowned in blood. Hundreds were killed, slaughtered to insure profits to the emperor of Detroit. Can no Ford worker in Detroit see this without recalling that on March 7, 1932, five Ford workers were shot down by Ford's "Service Department" in a demonstration to demand bread from Ford?

A combine of American and Canadian capitalists have a 50-year concession on no less than *150,000 square miles* in the state of Amazonas—practically the entire area of that huge state.

Unfortunately, one cannot, by magic, move this vast slave-hell that is called Brazil up somewhere between Denver and Pittsburgh, where all could see; where every American worker could feel its horrors, and could grasp the fact that millions of Brazilian workers who slave, suffer and die there are no less ruled and robbed by Wall Street than he himself.

Not that there exist no Brazilian exploiters. There are many, and some with vast fortunes, feudal barons surrounded by luxury and swarms of miserable serfs. Mainly they are great landowners. Out of the 43,000,000 population, there were (in 1930) only 648,000 owners of land. Of these, 64,000 hold a total of 338,-000,000 acres, while all the remainder own only a total of 100,-000,000 acres. One landowner owns an estate in the state of Para that is as large as all of Portugal. The agrarian masses live and toil as feudal serfs.

The conditions of the urban wage workers are little better. Their living standards are far below that of the poorest North European. Industry, particularly light industry, expanded greatly prior to the crisis. In 1927, Brazil had 300 textile mills, capitalized at $125,000,000 and supplying 80 per cent of domestic consumption. But at least 70 per cent of the population is agrarian, and their condition is appalling.

The population is 40 per cent Negro, descendants of slaves "freed" in 1888, and immigration has furnished a considerable German and a larger Italian mixture to the native Indian and Portugese stock. And, it is notable that the most important single financial interest that may be called native Brazilian, is that of an Italian, the Matarazzo family, which owns a great chain of 85 factories. This Matarazzo has long been connected with Mussolini, and has financed the organization, in August, 1932, of the fascist party, known as the "Integralists" which is a word the same as "Totalitarians".

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In addition, there has recently been a heavy Japanese immigration, nearly 50,000 entering in the two-year period of 1933-34, going mainly into the Sao Paulo and Amazonas areas; many, incidentally, dying en route of horrible conditions on virtual slave-ships organized by Japanese labor-agents. A new quota system is reducing Japanese immigration somewhat, and apparently "President" Vargas feels anxious lest the supply of slaves run short. In a message to Congress last May, he protested the quota rule and said that "the large estates of the state of Sao Paulo alone require 40,000 Japanese workers during the current year".

But, certainly, no worker in his right mind, even under such miserable conditions as are the workers of Japan, would think of going to Brazil to improve his conditions, unless lured by lies as to conditions prevailing for Brazilian workers. So appalling are their conditions, that even the Director of Public Health under the Vargas regime, Belisario Penna, not long ago declared:

> "Thirty million human beings without any earthly possessions are dying slowly in Brazil from hunger, syphilis, and malarial diseases."

Again, in May 1935, a group of 108 members of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, belonging to different groups on both sides of the House, adopted the following resolution:

> "We demand, in virtue of Article 36 of the Constitution, that an investigating committee, composed of 11 members, be set up in order to study, throughout the country, the living conditions of workmen, including agricultural, urban and mining workers. The said committee should determine whether Brazilian workmen receive enough wages to enable them to maintain an adequate standard of life, and whether the provisions of Article 121 of the Constitution and of other relevant laws protecting the worker are really carried out."

Oh, certainly, there are laws enough in Brazil about protecting labor and insuring its rights! The International Labor Office can show you stacks of such laws, enacted under Vargas rule, sent from Brazil. Compensation laws, pension laws—all sorts of laws. But they rest there in the archives of Geneva, right beside similar laws from Chiang Kai-shek China and Hitler Germany. The poor workers of Brazil slave and starve and die in peonage without knowing how blessed is their condition—according to the law.

* * *

In the interplay of rival imperialist forces seeking dominance, it can be said that, prior to 1930, when President Washington Luis was overthrown, British imperialism held the major influence. That

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

year, with the masses pressing their grievances behind it, the "Allianza Liberal" contested the election against the Luis regime. At the head of the Liberal Alliance were Getulio Vargas, now Preisdent; Oswaldo Aranha, Brazilian ambassador to Washington; and others.

At that time, Vargas and Aranha were called "agents of Moscow" by the political police, who then were cashing checks signed by Luis. At that time, to get mass support, Vargas and his Allianza Liberal had a program in which many demands of the masses were set forth as aims, for democratic rights, against the so-called "Hook System" of arrest without warrant and detention without trial.

At that time, lacking the ideological development that came to him later, but sincere in support of the demands of the masses, Luis Carlos Prestes supported Vargas against Washington Luis. Preses had won a place in the hearts of millions by leading, from 1924 to 1926, a "column" of mutinous troops who refused to fire upon the people, in a running fight, a two-year campaign of guerrilla battles, across the vast reaches of terrible jungle and parched plateau. Prestes, trained as a soldier, relied then solely on military action and support, ignoring at that time the aid of the proletariat, and its leader, the Communist Party.

The poor peasants and peons of the interior, themselves starving, gave food to the "Prestes' Column" and showered upon Prestes the tears of the humble in blessed adoration of their "Knight of Hope". But Prestes himself was finally forced to lead his heroic band across the Argentine frontier to safety.

Such was the Prestes who supported the Liberal Alliance and Getulio Vargas in 1930. But when Vargas, with that support, and with the aid of promises of democratic rights had, by force of arms, won power, and immediately showed that he was as great an oppressor of the people as was Washington Luis, if not greater—Prestes broke with the Liberal Alliance and denounced Vargas. Later, in sincere search to understand, he found the way into the Communist Party and, becoming its leader, is today honored and loved as a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

It was the beloved Prestes that won the masses of Brazil, the lower army officers (who suffer much class discrimination) in their association of "Tenientistas", the Trabalhistas, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, and many other organizations containing sections of all social classes, into uniting in a People's Front called the National Liberation Alliance. Its program is simple and direct:

1. Disbandment of the fascist party, in the Integralists.
2. Nationalization of foreign enterprises, banks, etc.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3. The eight-hour working day, with one day of rest in seven.
4. Equal pay for men and women doing the same work.
5. A minimum wage law.
6. Unemployment insurance and old-age pensions.
7. People's committees to see that social laws are enforced.

* * *

The force of the National Liberation Alliance was thrown against the Vargas regime, for the simple reason that, not only had Vargas increasingly betrayed the liberal promises he made, denied democratic rights, encouraged the fascist Integralists—giving them permisssion to hold a congress on the very day, in April 1935, that he decreed the National Liberation Alliance and all trade unions (except the government-bossed "unions") illegal, but he had progressively become the puppet of imperialism, playing one against the other at times, but generally favoring American imperialism.

It seems fitting, in the light of all that has happened—and the responsibility for it that rests upon the shoulders of Vargas and his torturers and assassins—to quote the following from the British Encyclopedia concerning Brazil: "The reptilian fauna exhibits an exceptionally large number of interesting genera and species." For, more dangerous than the giant boas and sucuriu, the loathsome serpent of feudal-fascist-imperialist oppression, with the repulsive head of Getulio Vargas, is crushing the life out of the Brazilian people.

In January 1935, negotiations began for a new trade treaty with the United States. This was not something routine, but most exceptional. "Monstrous" it was called in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies. It grants American imperialists such favors as were never before imagined. Sections of Brazilian industry held by small native capital are ruined and thousands of workers added to the unemployed. So far does the treaty go, that it not only violates Brazilian law limiting such pacts to the "most favored nation" clause, but its final signing by Vargas had to be accompanied by a cancelling of trade treaties with forty countries.

The masses were infuriated, and the National Liberation Alliance led them in tremendous protests. Vargas broke all laws to put the treaty over. He barred even his own cabinet from the negotiations. Stung by the protests, he outlawed the National Liberation Alliance, and the United Confederation of Trade Unions with a membership of 500,000 workers. The protests continued. Vargas dared not sign the treaty. Not until he had drowned in blood the revolt he provoked on November 24, and had set up martial law—itself prohibited by the Constitution—did he dare sign this sell-out to Wall Street.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With about 17,000 thrown in jail, the shadow of prison and death, or torture worse than death, over every house, Vargas signed the treaty on December 2, last. But his bloodhounds were on the loose and in full cry.

On December 26, the anti-Nazi refugee, Arthur Ewert, former Reichstag Deputy, was arrested. His torture has been denounced by Abel Chermont, Brazilian Senator, in the Brazilian Senate, as has also the murder of many political prisoners. Some time in January, Victor Barron, my son, was arrested. Reports say he was charged with "participating in the revolt by driving an automobile". Another, that he "operated a radio". His death, while he was held in police headquarters, is clearly a case of murder.

The story told by the police that he "committed suicide" is even thinner than their statement that he had informed the polic where Prestes could be taken. Old revolutionaries acquainted with police methods views with disbelief any story of the police, especially when police point to a dead prisoner—in this case one they have murdered —as the informer. It serves to cover two crimes, their murder of Barron, and the real informer. The real informer can thus continue his spying.

The fact remains that Prestes, precious alike to the Brazilian people and the world proletariat; Prestes, a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—is in prison and will surely be murdered, unless. . . .

Unless through a wide united front of our Party and all groups and elements that can be interested in this common aim, a tremendous protest movement, raising the slogan *"Release Prestes"!* breaks down the murderous intent of the Vargas regime. Together with this must go the cry—"Freedom for Ewert to depart to the country he may choose!" Likewise, the state of siege, under which Vargas uses martial law against the people, must be ended and democratic rights restored. The 17,000 political prisoners must be freed! Remember that, before last November's revolt, the political prisoners in jail at Rio de Janeiro, sent their bit to help Angelo Herndon! Further, the part played in the detention and death of Victor Barron, by U. S. Ambassador Hugh Gibson and his staff, deserves exposure to the light by demands upon Congressmen to pursue an investigation.

Danger to Prestes' life is immediate. Our action to save him must be speeded. But they must also be continuous, until victory is won!

Soldiers, all of us, we cannot pause in the battle charge!

We cannot pause. Close ranks! Forward!

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Peace Policy of the Soviet Union

THE SOCIALIST FORCE FOR PEACE AND THE INTERESTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS

By L.

TODAY, when the clouds of war gather over every part of the world, the people of all countries look toward the one nation which embodies their hopes that a new war catastrophe, unparalleled in its frightfulness, may be avoided, toward the Land of victorious Socialism, toward the one great power that has been carrying on a consistent peace policy, toward the Soviet Union. When questions of war and peace are discussed in Geneva, the masses of the world, including those in fascist Germany, listen intently to the words of the Soviet representative. Not because they have any special faith in the League of Nations, but because they know that the men speaking for the Soviet Union in the League represents the only force that has consistently served there the purposes of peace, the strongest power which the peace front can today oppose to the front of the warmongers.

It need not surprise us, therefore, that the fascist war-inciters seek with all their might to slander that power and to undermine the ever-growing confidence of the masses in its policies. It is, therefore, the more regrettable to find that there are even in Social-Democracy reactionary elements who support and spread such slanders, giving actual support thereby to the machinations of the warmongers.

There are two main "arguments" usually advanced against the peace policy of the Soviet Union: first, the contention that this policy is not at all a peace policy, but "Red imperialism", representing the interests of Russia as a great power; second, the calumny that the Soviet Union, through its peace policy, betrays the interests of the international proletariat, particularly leaving in the lurch the German workers. Both contentions—although apparently contradicting each other—are knit together by the same purpose: that of discrediting the Soviet Union and of setting up an artificial an-

* Translated from the January, 1936, issue of *Die Internationale*, organ of the Communist Party of Germany.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tagonism between it and the workers in the capitalist countries, thereby weakening the struggle for peace.

Let us first ask this question: can the interests of the victorious working class of the Soviet Union be contraposed to the interests of the oppressed workers of the rest of the world? Is it at all thinkable that furthering the interests of the victorious working class is injurious to the interests of the oppressed working class? The Soviet Union and its fate are certainly not a thing that is separable from the fate of the workers of the rest of the world. On the contrary, every worker, every toiler the world over senses that the fate of the Soviet Union plays a decisive role in his own destiny.

We need go no further than the consideration of the problem of war and peace to prove that this is actually so. The struggle of the world proletariat for peace is determined by the deepest self interest. The peoples want peace; their enemies want war. The tireless struggle of the Soviet Union for peace is being waged in the interests of the entire toiling humanity. Everyone who compares the world situation of today, or that of a year ago when King Alexander and Barthou were murdered in Marseilles, with the situation in the critical days of July, 1914, must realize that a new world war would long have broken out if there were not present a force today which did not exist in 1914: the mighty power of victorious socialism, which has thrown its whole economic, moral, and military strength on the scales in behalf of the cause of peace. The greater the strength of the Soviet Union, the stronger are the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, and the greater is their hope that a new war catastrophe can be prevented. Everything, therefore, which contributes to the interests of the Soviet Union, serves directly the interests of the workers in all capitalist countries.

But we must refute every lie which may influence millions of people, however stupid and base that lie may be. That is why we shall consider more closely those slanderous assertions which are being spread by all the means at the disposal of the apparatus of fascist terror.

Is it conceivable that the Soviet Union could pursue any other than a peace policy? We need only ask ourselves why the imperialist countries, and foremost among them the fascist dictatorships, the most brutal and aggressive form of imperialist domination, pursue a war policy. They are seeking new spheres of exploitation (expansion Eastward, a "place in the sun", a "new empire", or however else they may demagogically term it), because they are unable to squeeze out the profits they need from their own proletariat. They are looking for new markets, because their own impoverished toilers can no longer buy the goods which they have pro-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duced; they are looking for new sources of raw materials and for cheap colonial labor to lower the wages of their own "compatriots" and to act as strikebreakers against them. These are the driving forces which shape the war policies of the imperialist robbers, and especially those "hungry" countries which got the short end of the stick in the division of the world. But these matters are reversed in the Land of victorious Socialism: this land has abolished exploitation; it is steadily increasing the well-being of its toiling masses, and is unable to provide enough goods to keep pace with their rising demands; is opening up the hidden riches in raw materials of one-sixth part of the globe; and if there is a lack of workers in this land without unemployment, then the problem is solved, not in the manner of the imperialist robbers of colonies, but, on the contrary, by raising the technical qualifications and the cultural level of the more backward groups. All that the Land of victorious Socialism needs is peace and tranquility to be able to apply all its energies for the opening up of the riches that lie dormant in its soil and in its millions of people.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union requires peace, not only to carry on its cultural and economic development, but also in the interests of the ultimate victory of the higher social system it represents in opposition to decaying capitalism. It is only natural that the capitalists, contemplating their world in a state of decline, should try with all their might to turn back the wheels of history; but the U.S.S.R., to whom the entire future belongs, needs only time and peace to develop the natural superiority of socialism over capitalism. The U.S.S.R. requires peace during which its example can exercise its effects upon the peoples still oppressed by capitalism. Comrade Manuilsky stated justly in his speech at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, on the achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union:

> "The Soviet Union needs no foreign wars to change the world. The people themselves will do it, rising against their oppressors. The Soviet Union needs no wars because in the struggle of the two systems socialism is winning daily victories and proving before the whole world its superiority over capitalism. If the world bourgeoisie would leave our country in peace for another decade, the socialist achievements of the Soviet Union would convince the broad masses of the world of the superiority of this system, and would transform even the most 'peaceable' people, who are today a mainstay of capitalism, into its revolutionary enemies."

For all these reasons, the Soviet Union needs and desires peace, and carries on a consistent policy of peace. As Stalin pointed out at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was able to carry out this policy under the greatest diffi-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

culties, in an atmosphere heavy with war, in spite of the mad orgy of warlike preparations which has seized upon many countries, especially fascist Germany, because of its own increasing economic and political strength; because of the moral support of millions in all countries who desire the preservation of peace with all their might; because of the realization on the part of those capitalist countries which, for this or that reason, are not interested in disturbing the peace; and, finally, because of the readiness of the glorious Red Army to defend the country from all foreign attacks. Upon this basis, the Soviet Union has systematically developed its policy of uniting all those forces devoted to peace, and of concluding non-aggression pacts and treaties for mutual assistance. Without any illusions about the character of the temporary devotion to peace on the part of many capitalist nations, the Soviet Union, nevertheless, knows how to distinguish between those nations which are today the main instigators toward a redivision of the world by force of arms, like Germany, Japan, and Italy, and those which are opposed to this redivision. It unites its strength with that of all the enemies of the war toward which Hitler is driving, because it knows that the preservation of peace is in the interests of socialism and of the toilers of the world.

The steps which the Soviet Union has undertaken in the pursuit of this peace policy are being slanderously misrepresented, not only by the Nazi warmongers, who, naturally, do not like to see their criminal doings disturbed, but by persons who claim to represent the working class and to be enemies of the Nazi regime. Thus, for instance, Fritz Alsen published in the September-October issue of the *Zeitschrift fur Sozialismus* an article (from the contents of which, unfortunately, the editors of the journal, Drs. Hilfolting and Hertel, did not dissociate themselves) in which he slandered Stalin's well-known note to Laval as an "abandoning of all international, proletarian interests in favor of Soviet Russia's self-defense". We have already stated that the interests of the defense of the Soviet Union are the most important interests of the international proletariat, and that, therefore, the furthering of the former constitutes the task of the latter. But let us be specific in this particular instance: Whose interests are here being "abandoned"? Those of the German proletariat? But precisely German workers, groaning under Hitler's yoke, are the first to be concerned in a policy which may stop his war-mongering and close to him the road of war as a way out of the consequences of his policy of desperation. And the interests of the French proletariat and their class struggle, as the events of the past half year have shown, have been only furthered by Stalin's declaration; for millions of French intellectuals and middle-class people have been made to realize precisely by this declaration

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that a close compact with the Soviet Union will mean, not the surrender of their country to Hitler's depradations, but, on the contrary, the surest guarantee of peace. For this very reason they gained confidence in the Communist Party and in the proletarian united front; they joined the anti-fascist People's Front; they fought the policies of Laval and the French big bourgeoisie who did not carry out consistently the purposes of the pact with the U.S.S.R., but trafficked instead with the fascist states, and preferred to use the French army against their own working class rather than against the fascist war mongers. Stalin's statement has, therefore, made easier the fight of the German and the French proletariat against their exploiters. Those whose interests have been damaged thereby, and whom Mr. Alsen defends, are really none other than Hitler and the French capitalists, who work together hand in glove.

As for the second question—whether preventing war is in the interests of the oppressed German proletariat—we have in effect already answered it. If the Nazi torturers try to insinuate to their victims that all this is meaningless, that the Soviet Union has abandoned the German revolutionaries and is limiting itself to the prosecution of "its own" peace interests, then every reasoning worker will reply that the maintenance of peace is also in the interests of the German proletariat. Freedom cannot come to the German people at the point of foreign bayonets; Hitler's policy of desperation will end with the destruction of himself and the exploiters only when the Nazi dictatorship has been undermined from below, when the masses, pressed into forced organizations by fascism, unite for the struggle against fascism and gather strength in their own anti-fascist people's front. But if Hitler cannot be overthrown before he has kindled the conflagration of a world war, then we will do everything within our power so that at least this slaughter shall be the last, so that peace and socialism may follow from Hitler's downfall. But we must clearly realize that this last road to Hitler's fall will exact the greater suffering and sacrifice from the German toilers, and that it is in their most vital interest to gain time in order that they may grow powerful enough to overthrow Hitler before he can set aflame another world war. There the Soviet peace policy also serves directly the anti-fascist struggle for freedom in Germany.

What are the chances that this peace policy will prevent the catastrophe of war? Capitalism means war; the inner forces of imperialism drive it constantly to unleash a new mass slaughter. But capitalism is now in the period of its decline; it is no longer in the position where its inner forces have free play; these are opposed by counter-forces which are gathered around the peace policy of the Soviet Union. In contrast to 1914, there is today a land where the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

workers rule, a land that desires peace, and a powerful Red Army, equipped with the latest weapons, animated by the spirit of the proletarian struggle for liberation, and whose strength can be thrown in the balance on the side of peace. This is a strength different from the resolutions adopted by the Second International before the war of 1914, which were genuinely supported by only a small number of its parties. And around the strength of the Soviet Union are gathering the mighty force of the working class of the whole world, the broad masses of the Social-Democratic workers, wide sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, to support its peace policy and oppose all slanders directed against it. Never has there been such a widespread and mighty hatred of war. And the imperialist front has finally been split; there are bourgeois governments today which, at least for the moment, are interested in the preservation of peace; there are small countries that wish to safeguard peace because they have good reason to fear an attack on the part of Hitler fascism against their independence. Under these circumstances, it is entirely possible that the forces for peace will prove stronger than those for war; that the outbreak of a new world war will be prevented, until at last, with the universal victory of socialism, the causes of war will forever be abolished.

This is a possibility; but whether it becomes a reality depends upon our own struggles. At the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Ercoli declared:

> "If the German working class, under the leadership of its Communist Party, succeeded in uniting all anti-fascist forces of the country, in putting itself at their head, and in giving the death-blow to the National-Socialist regime, just think, comrades, what tremendous consequences this fact would have on the entire international situation.
>
> "From the viewpoint of the international war situation, fundamentally this event would open up peace, and new paths and new possibilities to the working class of the world."

Upon us, the Communists, lies a tremendous historical responsibility toward the international working class movement, toward the toilers of the whole world. Upon our ability to undermine Hitler's entire war apparatus, to thwart his whipping up of a war mood among the masses, upon our ability to gather all the anti-fascist forces into a united front and a people's front against the war mongers, for peace, and for the peaceful solution of all the problems that confront Germany—upon these, to a decisive degree, rests the question whether the international working class will again have to suffer the horrors of a world war, or whether fascism and its retainers, and also the causes of all wars, of all poverty and misery shall be swept off the face of the earth.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unity for Victory and Its Conditions

PREFATORY NOTE

[*The first practical negotiations for one United Party of the proletariat were begun in France, on April 11, 1935, between representatives of the Communist and Socialist Parties, together composing a Unification Commission. The negotiations for organic unity were rendered possible by, indeed, were the logical outcome of, the series of successful common actions resulting from the united front of the Socialist and Communist Parties. Since the beginning of these negotiations, draft charters of unity have been submitted by both the Communist and Socialist Parties. The following statement was published in l'Humanité, French central Communist organ, on January 9, 1936, giving the Communist appraisal of the results of the work of the Unification Commission. In* The Communist *for February we published the Draft Program of the United Party of the proletariat of France submitted on May 29, 1935, by the Communist Party to the Unification Commission. The following statement by the Communist Party of France takes note of the Draft Charter submitted by the Socialist Party of France, as well as of the subsequent amendments and additions introduced by the Socialist representatives, and subjects them to a basic Marxist-Leninist critical analysis. The propaganda value of this statement is inestimable for the Communist and Socialist workers in the present stage of the struggle for the establishment of the united front as the first organizational phase leading to the United Party of the American proletariat.*—EDITORS.]

I. THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

FIFTEEN years ago, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Socialist Party, held at Tours, the split was completed by the refusal of the minority to submit to the majority which had decided by a vote of 3,208 to 1,022 to adhere to the International of Lenin.

Since then, the Communist Party has made incessant efforts to reestablish the unity of the French working class which was broken by the split. It addressed 26 proposals for unity of action to the Socialist Party without receiving a favorable response and sometimes, without receiving any response.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1932, in the face of attacks by capital in order to throw on the poor the burden of the crisis, in the face of the attacks of the fascists on democratic liberties, the Communist Party launched its historic slogan which is today that of all class-conscious workers: *one class, one trade union, one party.*

After the tragic experience of Germany, when the French working class began to organize its forces against the fascist attempt of February 6, 1934, the Communist Party resolved to do its utmost to unite the workers in a common battlefront. Its efforts led in July 1934 to the conclusion of a pact of united struggle with the Socialist Party.

The principal basis for the achievement of unity of action was the development of struggle during which, since the February days, the Socialist, Communist, and non-party workers had fought shoulder to shoulder. The conclusion of the pact of united struggle has made it possible to pose in a concrete way the question of organic unity.

The Communist Party did not fail to do this. It was on November 24, 1934, that the Central Committee of the Communist Party emphasized, in its letter to the National Council of the Socialist Party, the necessity for proceeding from an accomplished unity of action to the accomplishment of organic unity.

> "In order to struggle more effectively against its enemies," wrote the Central Committee, "the working class needs to achieve its own unity, to build the United Party of the proletariat."

Addressing itself to the leadership of the Socialist Party, the Central Committee wrote again on March 2 that "the common battle against fascism and against the capitalist regime must result in the unification of the forces of the working class".

The Communist Party immediately looked ahead to the methods of realizing the United Party on the basis of the following principles:

1. Unity of action had made it possible to pose concretely the problem of the United Party. In order to advance toward the solution of this problem, it was indispensable *to consolidate and broaden the united action* by increasing the action itself. That is why the Central Committee had submitted on November 24, 1934, to the National Council of the Socialist Party several proposals concerning a program of defense of the workers, insisting on the fact that *immediate action* "opens the path for the realization of organic unity". . . . And this was repeated in the letter of March 2, 1935.

2. The realization of the United Party has to be prepared through democratic methods. It was the February fighters who

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ratified the pact of united struggle before it was signed. The more workers, fraternally united in struggle, participate in the preparation for the United Party, the sooner will this be accomplished. That is why, in stressing the necessity for proceeding from the united front to the United Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party proposed, since November 24, 1934, to the National Council of the Socialist Party, "that the workers fraternally enter into discussions on the principles of organic unity of the proletariat". That is why, also, on March 2, 1935, the Central Committee proposed that everywhere, the Socialist sections and the Communist units and districts hold joint meetings for information and discussion, open only to the members of the two parties, and having for their aims: (a) the organization of immediate action; (b) the study of the conditions of complete unification of the working class, and (c) the struggle for the unity of the international labor movement.

3. The working class needs *unity for victory*. The party it needs must be a party of the victorious proletarian revolution. It is therefore necessary to define the principles on which *unity for victory* can be built. For this, it is indispensable to take into account the experience of the labor movement and the lessons of history. That is why the Central Committee proposed to the National Council of the Socialist Party in its letter of November 24, 1934,

> ". . . that the workers should discuss the principles of the organic unity of the proletariat, taking into account international experiences, including the results obtained in Germany and Austria as well as those of the U.S.S.R."

THE DRAFT CHARTER OF UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

On March 14, after the meeting of its National Council, the leadership of the Socialist Party requested the Communist Party to designate representatives for a Unification Commission and invited at the same time "political groups other than the Communist Party, the party of proletarian unity, and the Socialist Party to arrange for the designation of the eventual representatives". This was mainly a question of the *splitter*, Doriot.

We have previously explained how anxious the Communist Party is to include all Socialist and Communist workers, fraternally united in struggle, in discussions and decisions pertaining to the United Party. The Central Committee of the Communist Party, on March 29, proposed to the leadership of the Socialist Party the convening of *a national conference for the purpose of preparing the unification congress*. The Central Committee added:

> "In view of the preparatory conference and in order that the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> discussions on the problems of unity should take place in the most democratic manner, we propose that there be organized joint meetings of the Socialist sections and the Communist districts.
>
> "Thus the members of both parties could discuss what immediate action to take as well as problems of unity of the working class."

The first meeting was held on April 11. Since that date, the Communist Party has conducted a three-sided campaign calling for:

1. The adoption of a position by the Socialist Party on the Draft Charter of Unity proposed by the Communist Party.
2. The establishment of the principles of the United Party in accord with the experiences of the labor movement.
3. The establishment of democratic methods during the discussion on the question of the United Party.

FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT CHARTER OF UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The representatives of the Communist Party, on May 29, deposited with the Unification Committee the *Draft Charter of Unity of the Working Class of France,* prepared by the Central Committee.

It was hoped that the Socialist Party would quickly give its opinion on the draft and that, in this way, the work of the commission would advance rapidly. Unfortunately, nothing of the kind happened.

On June 14, Comrade Séverac informed the Central Committee that the Mulhouse Congress of the Socialist Party had appointed a special committee to draw up a document "on the principles of a united proletarian party".

That is why the Political Bureau (of the Communist Party) informed the leadership of the Socialist Party on July 13 that

> ". . . for the purpose of hastening the complete unification of the forces of the working class *it would be happy* to learn your response to the proposals contained in the Charter of Unity drawn up by the Central Committee of our Party and given to the Unification Commission on May 29 last, on the very eve of your Congress at Mulhouse which was to discuss the problems of unity."

But no response came, and on July 30, the Secretariat of the Communist Party again reminded the Socialist Party that it had presented the Unification Commission with a Draft Charter on May 29.

No answer came, and it was not until October that the Unification Commission met again.

This was after the Senatorial elections. The Political Bureau had made it known that it would not "discuss unity with Doriot and Barbé, who were the puppets of Laval at the Senatorial elections held last Sunday". In spite of the numerical weakness of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organization led by Doriot, the Political Bureau, nevertheless, agreed to discuss with worker representatives of this group.

On November 29, the Socialist Party made it known that the Socialist and Pupist* representatives had been "unanimous in requesting that the 'Friends of the People' group should not retain Doriot and Barbé as members of its delegation to the commission".

But no answer to the Draft Charter was forthcoming.

Then, on the resumption of the work of the Unification Commission in October, the Socialist Party proposed only that "an editorial sub-commission" be set up within the commission.

The Political Bureau answered on October 24 that it did not see the value of this step, that the discussion on unity ought to proceed at a full session. And it recalled that since May 29 it had waited in vain for an answer by the Socialist Party on the Draft Charter of Unity.

The slowness of the Socialist Party did not cease to occupy the attention of the Political Bureau and it was the object of a special investigation on November 8. The Political Bureau then instructed its representatives to the Unification Commission to ask once more for the opinion of the Socialist Party on the Draft Charter. *Five months had elapsed since May 29 with no answer having been given.*

It was at the meeting of the Unification Commission on November 18 that the demand of the Political Bureau was transmitted. Then the C.A.P. (Permanent Administration Committee of the Socialist Party) published in *Populaire* on November 21 a work under the title "Draft of Conciliation and Synthesis". This work does not give us the opinion of the Socialist Party on the Draft Charter of Unity.

THE DRAFT CHARTER OF UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY EMBODIES THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In 1905, the French parties belonging to the working class united on the basis of a "Joint Declaration". It is this joint declaration which is known as the Charter of 1905. At first, the Socialist Party thought that unity could be achieved once more on the basis of the Charter of 1905.

But since 1905, we have gone through the imperialist war of 1914-1918, the October Revolution of 1917, and the victorious construction of socialism; we have seen the advent of fascism in Germany and in Austria. Thirty years of experience separate us from the Charter of 1905.

There were excellent points in the Charter, as, for example,

* Party of Proletarian Unity.—*Ed.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

condemnation of class-collaboration and solemn adherence to the "glorious, tried and tested" tactic of class struggle. But in the light of the lessons of experience, we see the need for all these things which are not in the Charter: the dictatorship of the proletariat, the ideological unity of the Party and its discipline. Besides, experience has shown that the Party built on the Charter of 1905 did not even remain faithful to the Charter, inasmuch as in 1914 there was formed the Sacred Union.

Moreover, it is not correct to pose the question of the principles of the United Party simply as a variation of the Charter of 1905. This Charter is a precious document. But what we must not forget, what, on the contrary, we must place the greatest emphasis on is the science of the proletariat, the embodiment of the experience of the international labor movement, *Marxism* itself. It is Marxism, *i.e.*, the theory and practice of the class struggle, of the proletarian revolution and of socialist construction which constitutes the foundation on which the united party must be built. And the good features of the Charter are precisely those which are borrowed from Marxism.

The Draft Charter defines the united party of the French working class as "the successor to the French Labor Party [*Parti ouvrier francais*] and of the pre-war United Socialist Party [*Parti socialiste unifié*] taught by the experience of the national and international labor movement" and which "leads in the class struggle in the path outlined by Marx and Engels". Its ideological base is *dialectical materialism*, the modern form of the materialism of the Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century.

The Charter of the Communist Party states that the aim of the United Party is the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist or communist society. It "proclaims that this aim can only be accomplished by the conquest of power through the fiercest struggle against the bourgeoisie", repeating the same formula as the Charter of 1905. It declares that "the bourgeois state has to be destroyed and replaced by the proletarian state, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to fight against counter-revolution, that victory for the exploited working class is not possible without a disciplined and centralized Party". It condemns class collaboration and declares that the United Party of the proletariat "follows the path outlined by the builders of the new society in the Soviet Union, which, guided by Stalin, has taken socialism out of the realm of hope and has given it life through the length and breadth of a country which spans one-sixth of the world". Finally, the Charter "considers international co-operation and action by the workers as indispensable".

But what must be particularly emphasized is that the Draft

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Charter prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party is not a simple enumeration of general principles. *It is a draft which has been studied and thought out.* It does not confine itself to the enumeration of its principles in the Preamble. In the two sections, "The Fundamental Bases of the United Party" and "The Proposed Program for the United Party", the principles are given precise formulation, the conditions for their application are examined. Thus, the Draft Charter does not content itself with calling for the replacement of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state. It states with precision that "the organs of true democracy, the Soviets or people's councils will be substituted for the present state and its organs", and it points out under what conditions.

II. THE EXPERIENCES OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The comparison between the Draft Charter of Unity of the Central Committee and the Charter of 1905 should throw light upon how the problem of the United Party was posed by those who wished to achieve unity on the basis of 1905 and how it was stated by the Communist Party.

This also can be seen by a brief comparison of the following two texts:

On March 14, 1935, the C.A.P. of the Socialist Party after the meeting of its National Council requested the Communist Party to work with it for the achievement of the United Party on the following bases: (1) The organization of the proletariat into a class party for the conquest of power and the socialization of the means of production and exchange, that is to say, the transformation of capitalist society into a communist or collectivist society; (2) the activity of the Party to be determined by the Party itself meeting in a national assembly, after consultation with local and departmental (state) groups.

Now, since November 24, 1934, the Central Committee expressed the hope that "the workers would discuss the principles of the organic unity of the proletariat, taking into account international experiences, including the results obtained in Germany and Austria as well as those which have been obtained in the U.S.S.R."

What is present here is missing there—the fixing of the principles of the United Party in accord with the experience of the labor movement.

But what are the essential lessons from the experience of the labor movement since the World War? The first lesson is that the proletariat has actually found in the Soviets the concrete form by which it will achieve the emancipation of the working class and in the Soviet Republic, the concrete form for the "organization of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the proletariat as the ruling class". The truth of this is proved by the victorious socialist construction in the Soviet Union. It was during the same period that Social-Democracy, which opposed the organization of the proletariat as the ruling class under the form of Soviet Power, which, on the contrary, preferred class collaboration for the peaceful transformation of society, led the working class in Germany and Austria to defeat.

The second lesson of this experience is that international cooperation and action of the toilers can be assured only by an international which is ideologically unified on the basis of a revolutionary ideology and which must be the *active* center of this international activity. This is proved by the collapse of the Second International before the imperialist war of 1914 and its impotence before fascism in 1933 and 1934.

The third lesson of this experience is that one Party, itself a unified whole, based on revolutionary theory, with strong discipline, can lead the proletariat to victory. This is proved by the fact that the Bolshevik Party, which fulfilled these conditions, led the Russian workers to victory and that the Parties of the Second International, which did not fullfil these conditions, gave up the workers in 1914 to the Sacred Union, and then to fascism in Germany and Austria.

Here are the essential lessons of the experience of the labor movement since the War. Is it necessary to inscribe these lessons in the charter of the United Party of the working class of France? The Communist Party answers without hesitation: yes, it is necessary to inscribe them there, and they are inscribed in its Draft Charter of Unity. And because these three essential lessons stand out from the experience of the post-war labor movement, the controversies turn, in addition to the question of the methods of discussion, on three points: (1) Soviets, or the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; (2) the International; and (3) the ideological unity of the Party and its discipline.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE SOVIETS

The final aim of the United Party is the building of the communist or collectivist society. As a requisite for the building of this society, the proletariat must "conquer power through the fiercest struggle against the bourgeoisie", must organize itself as the ruling class, *i.e.*, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat *in order to achieve the revolutionary transformation from capitalism to communism.*

But, in order to organize itself as the ruling class, the proletariat cannot be satisfied with taking possession of the bourgeois state. It must destroy the bourgeois state because that state is fitted for car-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rying out the tasks of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie but not the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat which represents the broadest and most perfect form of democracy.

Therefore, it is necessary to answer the question: with what will the proletariat replace the machinery of the bourgeois state and what is the concrete form for the organization of the proletariat as the ruling class?

Experience has answered this question. It was answered first by the Paris Commune, then by its most complete form, the Soviet Republic. And experience shows how effectively the Soviets, which are, as Lenin said, "the all-inclusive organization of the poor", the councils of workers, peasants, soldiers, and sailors, carry out the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat: the defense against the revival of capitalism; the substitution for bourgeois democracy of a superior type of democracy, of proletarian democracy; the building of a new society.

Since then, whoever wants the communist society must want the proletarian revolution; whoever wants the proletarian revolution must want its instrumentality, the dictatorship of the proletariat; and whoever wants the dictatorship of the proletariat must want the destruction of the bourgeois state and its replacement by the Soviet republic, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are bound together by a necessary, inevitable chain of development. That is why the Communist Party has inscribed in its Draft Charter the French Soviet Republic, that is to say, *the councils of workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors.*

This cannot be said for the Socialist drafts.

The "Text of Conciliation and Synthesis" (November 21) states that the aim of the United Party is "the collectivist or communist society"; it comes out in favor of the proletarian revolution; it cites the celebrated passage in which Marx declared in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* that between the capitalist society and communist society *a political transition stage* is necessary, in which the state will be "the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat"; and it recognizes the necessity of destroying the machinery of the bourgeois state. All this is very good and represents an advance. Unfortunately, however, this text goes no further. It does not state precisely what must replace the demolished machinery.

The text of November 21 declares that the *bourgeois state* will be replaced by the *proletarian state* "by which the dictatorship of the working class will be exercised during the entire period necessary to crush counter-revolution". Thus, we know that the proletarian state will not be a bourgeois state; we do not know what it will be. The text says nothing on this point, although we are living in an

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

epoch in which, in order to know what the proletarian state *will be*, it is sufficient to look at *what exists right now*. In other words, *the Socialist text of November 21 does not draw the lessons of the October Revolution in regard to the state.* It does not include the Soviet Republic in the charter of the United Party.

The Socialist delegation then brought forward on November 26 a new text containing a special section devoted to "the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat".

The text of November 21 did not define the form of the proletarian state; it did not include Soviets in the charter of the United Party. The text of November 26 includes an argument to justify this position. It says:

> "Each revolution has its own characteristics and its own original creative powers.
>
> "Differences existed, for example, between the Paris Commune of 1871, the councils of workers, peasants and soldiers of the Russian revolution and of Central Europe, and the revolutionary committees of the Asturias."

As a result, there is no ground for an answer to the question concerning the form of the proletarian state and there is no ground for including the Soviet Republic in the charter of the United Party. This text considers that the "Soviets" and, consequently, the "Soviet Republic" (about which it says nothing), resulted from the "original creative power" of the Russian revolution, that is to say, that they are specifically Russian products, that we must wait for *the concrete form* of the organization of the French proletariat as the ruling class, to emerge from "the original creative power" of the revolution.

Certainly, there exist differences between the Paris Commune and the Soviets; but they have something in common: their very nature as two concrete forms of the organization of the proletariat as the ruling class. There are differences; but their differences flow, in the first place, from the fact that the Commune is the bare outline of what the Soviet Republic is in completion. They are two stages in the same line of development. In this sense, the Soviet Republic is a part of the October Revolution not because it is a *Russian* revolution, but because it is a *proletarian* revolution. The creative power of each revolution will be manifested above all in the manner in which the Soviets rise and develop, in accord with the concrete historical conditions of different countries. In fact, that too is the reason why the revolutionary committees of the Asturias do bring to mind the Petrograd Revolutionary Committee at the beginning of the October Revolution.

For the same reason, that is why in the text of November 26,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

entitled "For the Unity of the Working Class", the Communist Party declared:

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised within the framework of parliamentarism and, as has been shown by the revolutionary movements of the last eighteen years, the toiling masses create the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat which are at the same time the organs of true democracy, namely, the councils of workers, peasants, and soldiers."

Since the penalty of silence about the lessons of history results in defeat, the United Party cannot confine itself to the Socialist text of November 26. The Communist Party has not failed to emphasize this.

It presented a new text to explain how, thanks to Soviet Power, proletarian democracy, which is infinitely superior in democracy for the workers, is achieved.

The Socialist Party then replied with a new text on December 18.

This time, the text speaks of the organs of the proletarian state. Only it limits itself to saying that these are the organs of the rule of the masses of people; it goes so far as to say that these organs simultaneously exercise both the executive and legislative power, as do the Soviets, but they do not call them Soviets; it does not come out in favor of them; the Republic of Soviets is not mentioned in the Charter of the United Party.

And much more, the Communist text to which we have referred has shown that the Soviets connect the toiling masses with the state apparatus and teach them the administration of the state, which, on the basis of this function, replaces the territorial restrictions of bourgeois universal suffrage by restrictions based on the principle of production: factories and shops in particular. In the Socialist text, all this has vanished. That is to say, Soviets are again eliminated. The Socialist text declares:

> "Contrary to that which occurs under bourgeois parliamentarianism, it [the dictatorship of the proletariat] assures to all workers, whatever their sex or their age, whether they are manual workers or brain workers, whether they are in civil life or in the army, their right to vote and their eligibility to hold office in the organs of power, which will thus be the direct expression of the masses of people of both town and countryside."

This is what is missing: the election of representatives in the factories, ships, soldiers' barracks. This is what is missing: *Soviets*. What *is* found there is an electoral reform. Thus, to say that "the organs of sovereignty" will be "the direct expression of the masses of people" means to expect the transformation of society through universal bourgeois suffrage—which is the illusion by which Social-Democracy led the working class to defeat in Germany and Austria.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Has progress been made in the Socialist texts? There is condemnation of class collaboration, support of the dictatorship of the proletariat, recognition of the necessity for the destruction of the machinery of the bourgeois state in order to build proletarian democracy. Moreover, not to recognize all this would be going counter to the convictions that events have strongly etched into the minds of the masses, and that is what the Socialist texts take into account.

Only the text of November 21 does not come out for the Soviet Republic. The text of November 26 justifies this omission. The text of December 18 tends to confuse the democracy of Soviets with a reform of bourgeois universal suffrage. It is no longer possible to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. But to come out in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat and against Soviets is to give a back-handed blow to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

But the texts of the Socialist Party do not only omit including the French Soviet Republic in the Charter. They do not *even once* mention the U.S.S.R. and, consequently, they do not acknowledge, *definitely and specifically*, the need for defending it. The Communist Party having placed stress upon this shortcoming, the Socialist text of November 26 is more explicit in the following amendment:

> "The United Party of the proletariat will join its efforts to those of the organized proletariat of all other countries to smash the fetters that capitalism and its governments may attempt to put on the free pursuit of revolutionary activity, and notably, on the development of the Russian revolution and the consolidation of the state it took for itself, and which constitutes a particularly solid bulwark in the struggle against fascism, for international peace, and for the march to socialism."

The U.S.S.R. is not named. The state of the Russian revolution is not designated by its name. As for the "development of the Russian revolution", it is known that the worst slanderers of the Soviet Union speak in the name of "the development of the Russian revolution". This text does not in fact condemn those who, like Kautsky, the chief theoretician of the Second International, would extol the supporters of the counter-revolutionary uprisings in the U.S.S.R. *in the name of the development of the Russian revolution.*

Thus the door of the United Party remains open to the enemies of the Soviet Union.

III. THE QUESTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL

The Socialist text of November 21 is silent on the question of the International. The representatives of the Communist Party

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

having emphasized this point, the Socialist Party brought forward, in its text of November 26, certain more explicit formulations. Here they are:

> "The United Party of the proletariat will seek, within the framework of an International having the same aims as itself, to realize the co-operation of the workers and to strengthen international action.
>
> "This International will be constituted in such a way that its decisions shall be obligatory on all member parties;
>
> "It will thus represent the supreme example, in war as well as in peace."

This is an effort to take into account the lessons of experience; but this effort does not go far enough to be fruitful.

Many conditions which the International should fullfil are omitted.

It is not sufficient that the International should have, in a general way, the same aims as the United Party. It is *also necessary that it should have the same methods of action;* for the true aims can be known only through the methods of action. More precisely, it is necessary that the International itself and all its sections *should struggle against the bourgeoisie.* This essential condition is omitted in the Socialist text.

It is just as necessary that all the sections of the International should strive to achieve the unity of the working class; and this essential condition is omitted from the Socialist text.

If these conditions are not fulfilled, the International cannot achieve the international cooperation and action of the workers.

The Draft Charter of the Communist Party clearly states its position on the question of the International. In its text of November 26, it again defined its position in the manner indicated above. After having declared that "the United Party could not in any case adopt a position on the international question which would favor the enemies of working-class unity against whom a relentless struggle must be waged", the text of the Communist Party states further:

> "The United Party works in close cooperation with the international organization and makes use of the experience of the labor movement of other countries. The international organization, even though it avoids direct interference into the affairs of the United Party, must render it effective assistance in the theoretical struggle against political opponents and for the carrying out of decisions passed by the Congress and the leading organs of the International."

IV. DISCIPLINE AND IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF THE UNITED PARTY

The Draft Charter of Unity of the Communist Party states

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its position for a disciplined and ideologically United Party based on revolutionary theory. It comes out in favor of democratic centralism and for the revolutionary ideology of Marxism, both of which have proved their worth.

The Socialist text of November 21 also declared that "the United Party is based on democratic centralism". But it does not explicitly condemn *every violation* on the part of the parliamentary representatives as well as by the rank-and-file. This is necessary, however, when it is recalled that in violation of the solemn decision of the Congress of the Party, the leaders of the Belgian Socialist Party entered into the National Union cabinet of van Zeeland.

Insofar as the parliamentary members, elected officials and the press are concerned, the Socialist text is content with the declaration that their actions "should conform with the policy determined by the Party" and that "the central organization must be instructed to insure obedience thereto". But it does not say explicitly that the central organ must itself *direct*, in conformity with the decisions of the Party, the elected officials, the parliamentary group and the press. Now, without this leadership, there can be no democratic centralism and consequently no disciplined party. That is why on November 26 the Communist Party agains affirmed the necessity and conditions for democratic centralism.

After declaring that "discipline is the same for all"; that "the leading organs of every rank are *elected*", the text of the Communist Party says:

> "The central organ of the Party directs the whole Party, including the parliamentary group, and the press, and must require of all the carrying out of decisions."

On the contrary, the Socialist text of November 26 does not include amendments which would render possible the achievement of true, genuine democratic centralism and Party discipline, and consequently that of a United Party that would really become the Party of the victorious proletarian revolution.

The examples of Germany and Austria show where Social-Democracy was led by scorn for this lesson. That is why the Communist Party insists on the necessity for the realization of ideological unity in the United Party based on revolutionary theory which has proved its worth. This theory is *dialectical materialism*.

It is by its application that the Bolshevik Party was able to lead the Russian workers and peasants to victory and, at their head, to achieve the building of socialism. It is its neglect and its denial which led the Second International to bankruptcy during and after the imperialist war and which led German Social-Democracy to defeat.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Socialist text of November 21 states that "complete freedom of discussion must prevail in the Party"; but it does not stress the necessity of ideological unity.

The Socialist text of November 26 declares "that a single ideological viewpoint is indispensable"; but it does not define on what basis. It says that "freedom of discussion within the Party cannot go to the point where the basic principles themselves, as set down in this Charter, are put into question", that "the duty of the United Party is to preserve its doctrine against all attempts at theoretical deviation or of practical collaboration with the bourgeois state". But all this is abstract, because *the revolutionary theory upon which ideological unity must be accomplished is not set forth explicitly.*

The Communist text of November 26 speaks another language:

> "The united party defends the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels, enriched by the theoretical additions of Lenin and Stalin."

Ideological unity of the party is possible on a defined ideology. It is impossible on an undefined ideology. Now, the Socialist texts do not define the ideology of the United Party. From this it follows that the United Party, pulled in every direcion, would be incapable of achieving its tasks. Confusion in theory would sink on this account into opportunism in practice and, consequently, to defeat.

GOVERNMENTAL PARTICIPATION

The Socialist text of December 21 declares that the United Party "could not, in bourgeois society, seek participation in the government".

In the first place, this already is in contradiction with the offers which are made in the Chamber by our Socialist comrades to form a government.

In the second place, it is not simply enough to make a subtle distinction between *seeking* governmental participation and *accepting* participation—condemning the quest but permitting acceptance. It is not a matter of playing sly tricks with the lessons of history. The participation of Socialists in the government led to fascism in Germany as well as in Austria, whether this participation had been *sought* or merely *accepted.*

What is important to the United Party is prohibition of participation in the government. The United Party must be the party of class struggle. In no case can it assume the direction of administering the interests of capital.

With the publication of the first text of the Socialist Party, the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"text of conciliation and synthesis" of November 21, the delegates of the Communist Party showed that although it represented an advance, it was not explicit. It was then decided that each Party should bring forward new texts in order to give exact formulation to the dictatorship of the proletariat, Party discipline and ideological unity.

The new Socialist text of November 26 does not bring any of the needed clarity and changes about any of these three questions. Until now there have been no more subsequent texts concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it is a vital question for the United Party to learn from experience. Unity for victory can be accomplished only if the United Party makes the lessons of experience its own, from beginning to end. Thus, it must make an irrevocable break with class collaboration, which has already cost the working class too many defeats. The proletarian revolution must be its desire without reservation. But then one must want the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, as well as its state—the Soviet Republic. If this conclusion is not drawn, the dictatorship of the proletariat is prevented from being effective; but this would mean that support for the proletarian revolution would risk being pure and simple words, and the United Party would sink into the morass of opportunism.

THE COMMUNIST PROPOSALS OF DECEMBER 18

We showed in the beginning that the Communist Party was from the start desirous of having all the Communist and Socialist workers take part in the discussion upon the United Party. That is what the Central Committee requested in its letters of November 24, 1934, March 2, 1935, and continuously from then on.

After the discussions, the essentials of which we have given above, the Political Bureau instructed its delegates to the Unification Commission to transmit a declaration containing three concrete proposals. This is what was done on December 18 last.

The Political Bureau proposed the following to the leadership of the Socialist Party: (1) the organization of great joint meetings, similar to those in Paris and Nice, throughout the country; (2) the transmission to all units and sections, committees, districts, federations, and regional federations, of all the texts submitted to the Unification Commission; (3) the publication of the stenograms of the debates at the Unification Commission, the only means of giving exact information about the discussions which were carried on.

The declaration of the Communist Party concluded:

"Our Party feels that it is essential in every case to declare

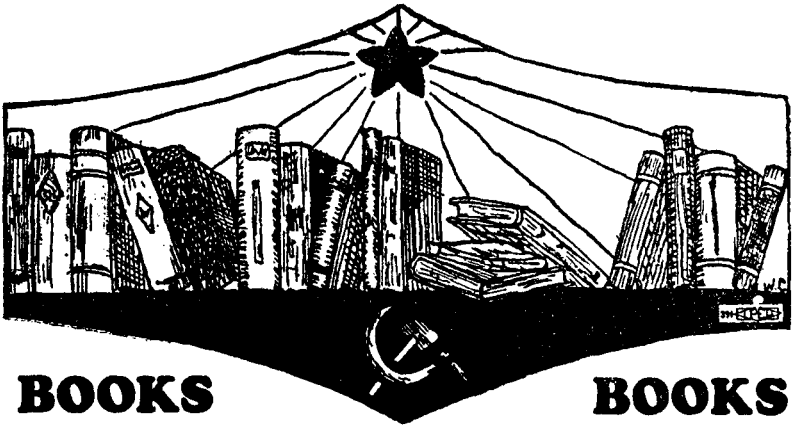
PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that it considers it a duty to insure the publication of the minutes of the debates of the commission."

"Our Party is convinced," the declaration continues, "that all these proposals correspond with the sentiments of the Socialist and Communist workers and are such that they will make it possible for the workers to discuss with a full knowledge of the proceedings, with a view to advancing the great cause of unity."

The Communist Party is sure that the workers, who ratified unity of action in the February struggles, will again give the decisive forward spurt which will permit us to achieve our most ardent desire: the United Party for victory.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A SCIENTIFIC SURVEY OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

RULERS OF AMERICA, A Study in Finance Capital, by Anna Rochester. International Publishers, New York. 384 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by HARRY GANNES

THE concepts—Wall Street, the House of Morgan, American imperialism—evoking the bitterest hatred of millions, have not always been fully understood or clearly defined. Now, however, we are presented with a book which draws up a scientific true bill against these enemies of the people.

To encompass the whole of American imperialism within the covers of one book is a mighty undertaking. Empires within empires exist. The Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons, du Ponts, Fords are truly gigantic enterprises, each more replete in bloody experience and incident than century-old dynasties, that have been the subjects of whole libraries.

Yet without this comprehensive knowledge in compact form we cannot measure the movement and strength of the enemy. To undertake such a task, then, is of the greatest merit and service to the American working class. Others have done it piecemeal, some well. But for the first time now, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist understanding, we are presented with the finished product of the most ambitious and successful piece of research on American imperialism yet published.

No writer, no speaker, no agitator, no fighter against capitalism can do his work well now without a knowledge and a use of Comrade Anna Rochester's book. Here is an arsenal of facts, of analysis and expose, whatever the discussion over this or that particular conclusion, that all of us, without exception, must exploit if we are to employ the best weapons in the fight against the most powerful enemies of mankind.

All libraries of the working class movement, of American social science, will be lacking, if they do not have this keystone of facts about American imperialism. If for the purpose of speaking or writing I were to require some information about any phase of American imperialism, I would first reach for Comrade Rochester's book. And when its extent becomes known in the labor movement, that will be the act of anybody in a similar situation. It takes its place as the dictionary of American imperialism, as it were.

Rather than the story of the rulers of America, which is implied in the main title, it is the compact record of their wealth and the instruments

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through which they rule and oppress the American people, as well as how they do it.

By far the best portion of the book, the most satisfactory part of the research and accomplishment, is that which deals with the three outstanding rulers of America: Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon. Both Morgan and Mellon have been the subjects of recent important volumes of great value by Lewis Corey (*The House of Morgan*) and Harvey O'Connor (*Mellon's Millions*). Comrade Rochester acknowledges her debt to O'Connor, and far exceeds Corey in estimating the House of Morgan in much less space.

The chapter on the House of Morgan is the story of the development of the largest and most powerful finance capitalist group in the world. While in 1912, the Morgan firm controlled at least $10,313,000,000 of the nation's wealth, by 1935 we are told, "the extent of Morgan power in American industry and finance defies statistical measurement. We can, however, list 35 banks, insurance companies, etc., and 60 non-financial corporations on which Morgan partners were directors on Jan. 1 1932 .... Here we find a total of $30,000,000,000 of corporate assets having this immediate link with the Morgan firm." By cross-directorships, Morgan has his hand on 51 banks and 86 non-banking corporations with combined assets of $46,200,000,000, *including foreign corporations with $3,000,000,000.* The figures pile up with amazing impressiveness. We find that Morgan controls, manages or decisively influences $77,600,000,000 of the corporate wealth of the United States. That is to say, J. P. Morgan, one individual, determines the fate of one-fourth of American corporation wealth.

But these bulked figures do not begin to give a picture of Morgan's grip. One must read and marvel to find that out.

Before going on to the two other financial giants, Comrade Rochester points out a situation not generally known. It is not always the largest amount of personal wealth which gives the greatest measure of control. That it does, is a general mechanical conception. It does not work out that way in life; and this has great significance. Ten million dollars of finance capital judiciously distributed has more power than fifty million dollars of industrial capital scattered. Morgan's dollars have a quality of power in imperialism far above the same number of dollars even in the hands of other monopoly capitalists. The type of organization of Morgan's wealth, because it is the classic form of the parasitic type of capital, finance capital, because of its skillful distribution, its decisive strategic placement, gives the House of Morgan power far beyond the mere comparison of J. P. Morgan's personal fortune to others. Indeed, Rockefeller, Ford and Mellon have more dollars invested and a greater income than J. P. Morgan. But they have distinctly less *power*.

Here we must remark that American monopoly capitalism did not have a schematic or straight-line development. That is to say, it did not grow out of one form of capital concentration, either banking or industrial. But concentration in any form of capital leads to the creation of finance capital, of oligarchical domination. Whoever controlled the banking monopoly, however, had the upper hand. This is more specifically traced by an analysis of the history of the Morgan and Rockefeller fortunes. The House of Morgan started out as a speculator, financier of industry and government, with world connection. Such liquidity and international links gave it strategic advantage in developing the early trusts. It also gave Morgan dominance in profiting out of the fortunes of war. The same reasons insured the House of Morgan the most pressing interest to force the United States of America into the World War.

The Rockefellers began exclusively as industrialists. Rockefeller de-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

veloped the first full-blown monopoly in oil. His activities gave substance to the very word trust. From industry, Rockefeller passed on to finance capital because of the extent of Standard Oil's wealth. But even now the existence of the Rockefeller's wealth in the oil trust puts them at a disadvantage in relation to the House of Morgan. Morgan's golden eggs are not all chiefly in the monopoly basket. He puts into each only the money, availability of credit, financial or executive management, necessary to control the various trusts he dominates.

The Mellon group, Comrade Rochester shows, is the most clearly defined example of the fusion of banking with industrial capital. Its situation chiefly in the American industrial Ruhr, around Pittsburgh, also placed Mellon in an inferior category to the House of Morgan. In Mellon, also, we have the best example of the tie-up of finance capital with the state apparatus. It was Andrew Mellon, who as Secretary of the Treasury, had two presidents serve under him, Coolidge and Hoover. Morgan's tie-up with the state, however, is more subtle, more widespread and less direct, which has its advantages for him. The Rockefellers resort to more hypocritical tactics to whip the state power into line for their needs. Each, however, supplements the other. Mellon in office assisted all his brethren, and so do Morgan and Rockefeller in their tie-up with the state apparatus.

In the chapter, "The Oligarchy", we find traced the interlinking as well as the conflict of financial-industrial giant rulers of America. Morgan and Rockefeller have many points of contact. But this does not eliminate their bitter conflict, especially in banking. In this battle the Rockefeller interests were aided by Roosevelt against the Morgan group.

"Aldrich [of the Rockefeller Chase National Bank] demanded legislation which was passed by Roosevelt's special 1933 session of Congress," writes Comrade Rochester. This legislation against investment bankers holding directorships in Federal Reserve Banks led to the dropping of most of Morgan's lieutenants from the Chase National Bank. Roosevelt thus chased a few Morgan money-changers out of one temple, only to strengthen another money-changer (Rockefeller) in control of the very same temple. But on the whole, as Rochester proves, Morgan has had little to complain about from Roosevelt. His financial empire was relatively strengthened during the period of crisis and the New Deal.

Morgan and Mellon generally cooperate, because both their interests are chiefly in the basic industries. Rockefeller and Mellon seem to have little dealing, except in oil.

Mutual participation in a monopoly by the financial kings does not mean agreement; for each battles for control and the greatest share of the profits; the contradictions are carried on within the monopolies as well as of one monopoly against the other.

Distinctly subordinate to these three top finance-capital segments are other important rulers of America. Comrade Rochester groups them as follows:

1. Large groups of fused banking and industrial capital in various sections of the country. These play predominantly a sectional role, though interlinked with Morgan largely in utilities, railroads, etc. At the same time, in their spheres they are independent. (Among this group are the du Ponts, Guggenheims, Weyerhausers, Ryans.)

2. The exclusive banking interests and money brokers who do not act as finance capitalists, but are subordinate to the Morgans, Rockefellers, and Mellons, being mainly collectors and feeders of money capital (commercial banking).

3. Large industrialists, even if in control of a dominating industry, who

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do not play a prominent part as finance-capitalists. Outstanding, of course, is Henry Ford.

The domination of monopoly industries through their finance capitalist generals, is pictured in the chapters: "How Finance Capital Rules Industry", and "Controlling the Government".

How this death grip control on industry affects the masses is outlined in extenso in the chapter "The Widening Gap". This shows distribution of income, wages, increasing exploitation; and it demonstrates that the immense luxury of the American captains of finance and industry is built on the growing relative and absolute impoverishment of the American toiling people.

Part two of the book, covering "Control in Selected Industries", is of the greatest practical value. There are chapters as follows: "Dominant Oil Monopolies"; "Copper, a Metal of Empire"; "Around the World with Electricity"; "Du Pont Leads in Chemicals"; "Aviation, a War Industry"; "Steel, Guns and War Machines"; "Railroads, the Ripest Monopoly".

We would suggest to International Publishers, publishers of the book, that each of these industry chapters be issued separately in pamphlet form. They are invaluable to trade union organizers in the fields concerned. They have the facts on precisely those industries where industrial union organization is the most burning question. In each chapter, the story is complete. If union members or organizers in sections where these industries prevail do nothing else, they must read the chapters in this book dealing with the industries in which they work, agitate, and organize.

What criticism we might have to make would be that more has been attempted than can adequately be handled in the book. For all we have covered, there still remains a chapter on (1) monopoly and the farmers, (2) the oppression of the small merchant, and (3) a chapter on monopoly and competition. This latter shows the conditions in the United States of monopoly superseding competition, yet existing side by side with it and bringing in new and more destructive forms of competition.

Then there is the last section of the book, part three, which concerns itself with "Capitalism in Crisis", and including a survey of Wall Street colonial empire, and a final chapter, "Will the Rulers Maintain Their Power?"

It is clear then, that the book, though not in itself large (367 pages, including the invaluable appendices on detailed corporation wealth and control) is cyclopedic in scope.

As we said above, the book sets for itself too large a scope. After first tracing the origin of American monopoly capitalism, not always adequately, we believe, it jumps rather abruptly into a detailed treatment of the most important and dominant section of American finance capital, the House of Morgan. The reader is assumed to have a competent understanding of Lenin's *Imperialism*, not to say Marxist political economy, and that should make it somewhat hard reading at the start for those who do not have this equipment.

But we have two major criticisms to make. It lacks sufficient generalization about the specific features of American imperialism; that is to say, from so vast a concentration of facts, a Marxist-Leninist should draw more theoretical conclusions. It thus reflects a certain weakness which in the past has correctly been attributed to the American labor movement, namely an aversion to theory. We do not mean to say that Comrade Rochester was not accurately guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, especially Lenin's analysis of imperialism. Not a page of the book is without its reflection of Lenin's work. It serves as a guide for the whole book. But there is a tendency, despite such a massing of facts, to fail to draw sufficiently the necessary theoretical conclusions concerning the laws of the development of American imperialism.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The facts are there to prove Lenin's *Imperialism*, as applied to the United States. But that is a sort of limit. Even here we think an error is made in an important phase of Lenin's analysis of imperialism. And that brings us to the second point, which is really a subdivision of the main criticism. Lenin points out that "monopoly infallibly gives rise to a tendency to stagnation and decay", "the stimulus to progress tends to disappear". Besides, imperialism "sets the seal of parasitism on the whole country. . . ." Lenin, in fact, primarily uses examples from the United States to prove his point about "a tendency to stagnation and decay". Decay, also, is more marked, and the contradiction in the development of the tendency (rationalization alternating with intensified crisis) is the most evident in "the countries which are the richest in capital".

Such important factors are, if at all treated, incidental in Comrade Rochester's book and in some places erroneously dealt with. On page 250, as a sub-point of "Monopoly and Competition", she writes that a company holding a strong position "may actually block technical progress by salting away patents." And again "monopoly may attempt to hold back technical progress and restrict production. . . ." Monopoly *does* block technical progress, and it *does* hold back production to maintain its monopoly price. Nor is this *tendency*, a positive one in the stage of imperialism, inconsistent with a certain degree of technical development and rationalization, all of which ultimately strengthens the tendency to "block technical" progress and intensify decay and parasitism. In one section (page 301) we have the statement: "The economic structure of capitalism is decaying." But this important element of imperialism, of American monopoly capitalism is not developed.

Wherever theoretical conclusions are drawn they are, for the most part, sketchy, having a tendency to a schematic trailing after Lenin. Leninist true formulae cannot take the place of Leninist original deductions.

The positive aspects of the book are so important that we cannot too strongly emphasize that no attempt now to understand and study American imperialism can be undertaken adequately without a knowledge and use of Comrade Rochester's book.

It is required reading and reference for an understanding of Lenin's *Imperialism* as applied to the wealthiest imperialist power, the United States of America. Lenin himself would have enjoyed reading just such a book.

"HEROES" OF OUR INDUSTRIAL AMERICA

I BREAK STRIKES! by Edward Levinson. Robert M. McBride & Company, New York. 314 pp., $2.50.

Reviewed by ANTHONY BIMBA

THE industrial spy-scab institution is an integral part of our industrial system. Its historical mission has been two-fold: to act as an instrument of capital to prevent workers from organizing themselves into their economic class organizations—trade unions, and to defeat the strike struggles of the workers for better conditions. In both of these tasks this sinister institution has been found indispensable to the industrial and financial masters. To the degree that industries grew and capital became more and more concentrated,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the degree that the resistance of the workers in the basic industries increased against the offensive of the employers—to that degree this institution was strengthened and extended until today, in the era of finance capital, its network extends into every industry and almost into every factory.

Not all of us know our real America. We see large factories, modern giants pouring out machines, tools, steel, rubber, paper, clothes, food products, and other necessities of life. We know that there are large numbers of workers toiling in these factories and mines. We probably hear about strikes, labor demonstrations, "labor troubles", etc. We are also taught that our capitalists have sprung up "from the ranks of the workers". We have been told so by our teachers, we are shown these things on the screen, we have read about them in the newspapers, books, and magazines.

Even if we happen to be factory workers, it does not necessarily mean that we know our America, I mean, our real, industrial America. Most of us know very little about how our America is run, how our masters are able to control us when we are "peaceful" and how they proceed to crush us when we revolt against bad working conditions, wage cuts, etc. We realize that we have lost our strike in spite of our greatest devotion and terrible sacrifices. We have seen our ranks divided in the face of our enemy. It is true that we have seen, many a time, our ranks being broken by the brutal police force, or by the militia, or by even by the regular army. However, only few of us have realized the fact that our industrial America has another mighty power to depend upon, to render us weak, divided, to undermine solidarity—it is the power of the labor-spy and strike-breaking institution.

Mr. Edward Levinson, by exposing this typical American industrial institution in his book *I Break Strikes!* has rendered a real service to the working class. The book reveals to us that this strike-breaking institution has been with us for the last sixty years. Its agencies, we learn, are to be found in all industrial cities and centers. For instance, "In New York City in 1934", says Mr. Levinson, "of a total of 187 licensed detective agencies, there were fifty-five which solicited retainers for strikebreaking, industrial spying or both" (p. 237). These agencies are operating under all sorts of names. Mr. Levinson deals, however, primarily with the famous strikebreaker Bergoff—the "Red Demon", the "King of the Strikebreakers", and only in passing does he touch other agencies, such as Burns' International Detective Agency, Baldwin-Felts, Pinkertons National Detective Agency, and Railway Audit and Inspection Company. Their methods are about the same. By exposing Bergoff the author really exposes all of them.

The mechanics of the operation of these spy-scab herding agencies are very interesting. For instance, Pearl L. Bergoff, the "King of the Strikebreakers", has his army divided into several departments, such as: Strike Prevention Department—the duty of the agents of this department is "to counteract the evil influence of strike agitators and the radical element"; Undercover Department—"composed of carefully selected male and female mechanics and work people" whose duty is to "furnish accurate information of the movements and contemplated actions of their fellow employees"; Open Shop Labor Department—"to supply all classes of competent mechanics and work people to keep the wheels of industry moving during a strike"; Protection Department—composed of thugs, gangsters and criminals who are "for the protection of life and property"; and Investigation Department (pp. 52-53).

The strikebreakers are recruited primarily from the scum of society—criminals, murderers, moral degenerates, ex-convicts, drunkards, etc. "There is not one out of ten that would not commit murder", the author quotes

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Robert Bruce as saying, not one out of ten "that you could not hire . . . to commit murder or any other crime" (p. 21). But when the strikebreaking services require large numbers of scabs, these agencies also recruit their victims from the ranks of the unemployed workers with the promise of "good, steady jobs" (p. 61). They put up signs everywhere and appeal for all classes of skilled laborers. Many innocent workers have fallen, or have been driven by hunger into such a trap. They are locked in the strike-affected factory and at the point of a gun, forced to work like convicts. Mr. Levinson gives us many examples where these innocent workers, victims of the strikebreaking institution, had, after they discovered their real position, revolted and joined the strikers.

Mr. Levinson ably proves that most of the outrages, provocations, crimes, and killings in our strikes have been due to the activities of this institution. The institution is indispensable to the employers. It functions with the grace, protection, license, and respect of our benevolent, free, and democratic government. It is true, for instance, that "to date twenty-six states have made illegal the circulation of blacklists—one of the principal products of industrial spy agencies" (p. 184); but, first, these laws are full of loopholes, and, second, the governments of these states are not, for obvious reasons, too anxious to enforce them. As far back as 1915, the United States Commission on Industrial Relations investigated the practices of these labor-spy-scab herding agencies, and recommended to Congress laws against them and against the use of professional strikebreakers in labor disputes; but nothing came of the recommendation.

"The lawmakers, for one thing", says Mr. Levinson, "were busy preparing to spread democracy throughout the earth by means of the World War, and the report of the Walsh Commission seemed a trivial matter in comparison. The courts took as little notice as the lawmakers, and at the first opportunity reasserted the rights of the strikebreakers and their employers" (p. 192).

Today, once more, we hear a whisper that a bill will be introduced in Congress to ban this sinister institution, but we have every right to doubt whether our busy lawmakers will find the time to pay any attention to such a "trivial" matter.

The hatred of the masses for the strikebreakers is only too well known. "Left to their own resources", says Mr. Levinson, "strikers have done the best they could to make life miserable for spy, fink and armed guard" (p. 193). The author shows many instances in which the workers fought bravely against these elements and many a time defeated them.

Mr. Levinson's description of the struggles against the armed forces and scabs of the employers on the part of the workers of McKees Rocks in 1909, of Kansas City in 1917, of the miners of Mingo County in 1930, reads like a war story which impresses one with an unforgetable picture.

Mr. Levinson's book, however, has a number of serious shortcomings. In the first place, it gives you no hope and offers no way out. It has no conclusion which would teach the workers how to make themselves more effective in their struggle against this vicious institution. Mr. Levinson fails to expose the Republican and Democratic parties as the ruling parties which have not only done nothing to wipe out this evil from our industrial life, but which, by their governmental policies of bloody repressions of strike struggles, have furnished the incentive to these spy and scab-herding agencies. Nor does the author let himself be led to the conclusion that a mass Farmer-Labor Party would be an effective way of coping with the evil which he indicts. For, as Earl Browder points out in his newly published book, *What is Communism?*, such a party would adopt in its program the demand

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for "outlawing the use of professional strikebreakers, vigilantes, police, National Guard and federal troops against the struggles of toilers for the betterment of their conditions". It would seem as if Mr. Levinson consciously avoided "politics".

His remarks about the foreign-born workers are often very careles.s He says:

> "The first professional strikebreakers in America were owners of the great steamship lines who brought immigrants from Europe and coolies from the Far East. These unsuspecting scabs were imported by the boatload, bound by contract to specified employers.... The protests of labor nevertheless achieved some results in 1882 when Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. The unions then turned their attention to the flow from Europe and in 1885 Congress took its first action against the contract system. Soon after, it was outlawed entirely. Henceforth the importation of immigrant scabs was carried on without contract." ((pp. 15-16.)

First, this leaves an impression that almost all immigrants, or at least those who came or were brought to America before the dawn of the twentieth century, were scabs. Second, it would seem that the fight of the American labor aristocracy which was and is being carried on even today against immigration is a blessing to the American working class. Such an attitude on the part of the author helps to divide the working class and to further the antagonism against the foreign-born workers; hence, it helps this very institution against which Mr. Levinson sets out to fight. It is also historically incorrect to say that even these immigrants, hundreds of thousands of them, who were brought to this country under the contract system were brought as scabs or strikebreakers in the present meaning of the term, that is, that they were brought here to replace the strikers. It was rather the question of supplying cheap labor power for the fast expanding industries of the U. S. A.

The Negroes get almost the same careless treatment. Mr. Levinson says:

> "The freeing of the Negroes gave the young labor movement another serious strikebreaker problem to contend with. The problem was somewhat of the white workers' making. They refused to take Negro workers into their ranks and some went so far as to refuse to work alongside of black men. On the other hand, the task of organizing the Negro workers, considering their temperaments and slave psychology, was not a simple one" (p. 16).

Here again Mr. Levinson leaves the impression that the Negroes after the Civil War became mobs of scabs. There were instances, no doubt, where the Negroes were used by the white bosses as strikebreakers; but we also have instances where the whites were used by the same employers to beat down the conditions of the Negroes. This so-called "strikebreaker problem" after the Civil War was entirely the making of the white ruling class and of its victims—those white workers whose minds were poisoned with the ruling class propaganda about the superiority of the white race.

Finally, the Molly Maguire movement gets an absolutely unfair treatment in *I Break Strikes!* Mr. Levinson says:

> "In the sordidness of their toil and poverty, they knew little of the amenities of life and killed several mine foremen who bore down too heavily upon them. McParland drank with the Mollies, fought with them and won their confidence. He became one of their lead-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers and helped plan outrages like those he had been sent to eliminate. Before long he had his desired evidence . . ." (p. 19).

I am afraid that Mr. Levinson was misled into this conclusion by Adamic's *Dynamite*, and by Allan Pinkerton's writing on the subject. It is beyond understanding why such people as Mr. Levinson even today insist on defaming one of the most militant and noble traditions of the American working class. First of all, the Philadelphia & Reading Company hired the Pinkerton spy agency, not to save its foremen, but to crush the organized power of the miners in the anthracite regions. Secondly, Pinkerton sent among the miners, not McParland alone, as one would conclude from Mr. Levinson, but a host of spies and provocateurs. Thirdly, these provocateurs, together with the activities of the armed vigilantes organized and maintained by the coal barons, created terror in several counties of Pennsylvania with the sole purpose of destroying the miners' organizations—the union and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. To forget this fact and to say only that the miners "killed several mine foremen", that, therefore, they were murderers, and not self-defenders against the murderers, is to distort history and to slander the memory of the labor heroes of the seventies, who died on the gallows in Pennsylvania. Fourthly, these Mollies knew plenty about the "amenities of life", and were not at all in need of such sermons as some of our historians have been preaching upon their graves. The fact that they were well organized and fought so militantly for higher wages and better conditions in the mines as well as against the brutality of the bosses, that is, for a more plentiful and beautiful life, should have convinced Mr. Levinson that they understood "amenities of life" far better than many millions of us (including hundreds of thousands of college and university graduates) who are satisfied to live on miserable relief or to slave for ten or twelve dollars a week without organizing and revolting against such degradation and misery. Better far to give up this notion about the "ignorance" and "stupidity" of those valiant miners who died on the gallows in the struggle against their unbearable conditions of existence.

Notwithstanding these and other such errors, *I Break Strikes!* is very much worth while reading, and should be widely read by the workers. Better than any author that I know, Mr. Levinson has effectively exposed the private strikebreaking institution of America.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW BOOKS

On the INTERNATIONAL List

Ready this month

THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

By James S. Allen

A thorough historical and economic explanation of the right of self-determination for the Black Belt, and the relation of this ultimate program to the more immediate problems of the Negro people today.

$1.25

Just published

MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION—*by Joseph Stalin*

The ABC's of the national question and its application in the Soviet Union. Contains all of Stalin's writings on the subject.
Marxist Library No. 38.

$1.50

WHEN JAPAN GOES TO WAR

By O. Tanin and E. Yohan

The attempted coup in Tokyo, and Stalin's warning against the Japanese war-mongers in his interview with Roy Howard of the United Press, emphasize the timeliness of this book.

$1.75

By the same authors: MILITARISM AND FASCISM IN JAPAN—*Introduction by Karl Radek*

$1.75

RULERS OF AMERICA—A Study of Finance Capital

By Anna Rochester

Lenin's theory of imperialism is applied concretely to the United States in this thorough analysis of America's financial rulers.

$2.50

●

Order from your nearest bookshop or from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTINUE YOUR STUDY OF
MARXISM - LENINISM

In Hundreds of Books, Pamphlets, Magazines for Sale at These Bookstores and Literature Distribution Centers

Aberdeen, Wash.: 110½ W. Heron
Akron: 365 South Main St.
Baltimore: 501A North Eutaw St.
Boston: 216 Broadway
Buffalo: 65 West Chippewa
Butte: 119 Hamilton St.
Cambridge: 6½ Holyoke St.
Camden: 304 Federal Street
Chicago: 161 North Franklin St.
2135 West Division St.
1326 East 57th St.
200 West Van Buren
Cincinnati: 540 Main St.
Cleveland: 1522 Prospect Ave.
Dayton: 712 Wayne Ave.
Denver: 522 Exchange Bldg.
Detroit: 3537 Woodward Ave.
Duluth: 114 West First St.
Grand Rapids: 336 Bond Ave.
Hollywood: 1116 No. Lillian Way
Los Angeles: 224 So. Spring St.
230 S. Spring St.
2411½ Brooklyn Ave.
Madison, Wisc.: 312 W. Gorham
Milwaukee: 419 West State St.
Minneapolis: 241 Marquette Ave.
Newark: 847 Broad St., 3rd fl.
New Haven: 280 Park St.
New York: 50 East 13th St.
112 West 44th St.
140 Second Ave.
115 W. 135th St., Harlem
1001 Prospect Ave., Bronx
1337 Wilkins Ave., Bronx
2050 Wallace Ave., Bronx
369 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn
4531 16th Ave., Brooklyn
Omaha: 311 Karbach Block
Oakland: 419 12th St.
Paterson: 201 Market St.
Philadelphia: 104 South 9th St.
118 W. Allegheny Ave.
4023 Girard Ave.
2404 Ridge Ave.
Pittsburgh: 1638 Fifth Ave.
Portland: 314 S. W. Madison St.
Providence: 335 Westminster St., Room 42
Reading: 224 North Ninth
Richmond Va.: 202 North First St., 2nd fl.
Sacramento: 1024 Sixth St.
St. Louis: 3520 Franklin Ave.
St. Paul: 600 Wabasha Street
Salt Lake City: 415 Hooper Bldg.
San Diego: 635 E St.
San Francisco:
170 Golden Gate Ave.
1609 O'Farrell St.
121 Haight St.
San Pedro: 244 W. Sixth St.
Santa Barbara:
208 W. Canon Perdido
Seattle: 713½ Pine St
4217 University Way
Spokane: West 9 Riverside
Superior: 601 Tower Ave.
Tacoma: 1315 Tacoma Ave.
Toledo: 214 Michigan
Washington. D.C.: 513 F St., NW
Youngstown:
310 W. Federal St., 3d fl.

●

Write for a complete catalog to any of the above addresses or to

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D **New York City**

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED